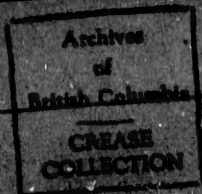


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THE COLONIAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings

AT THE

INAUGURAL DINNER, MARCH 10,

AND THE

INAUGURAL MEETING, MARCH 15, 1869.

LONDON.

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF 'THE EUROPEAN MAIL'

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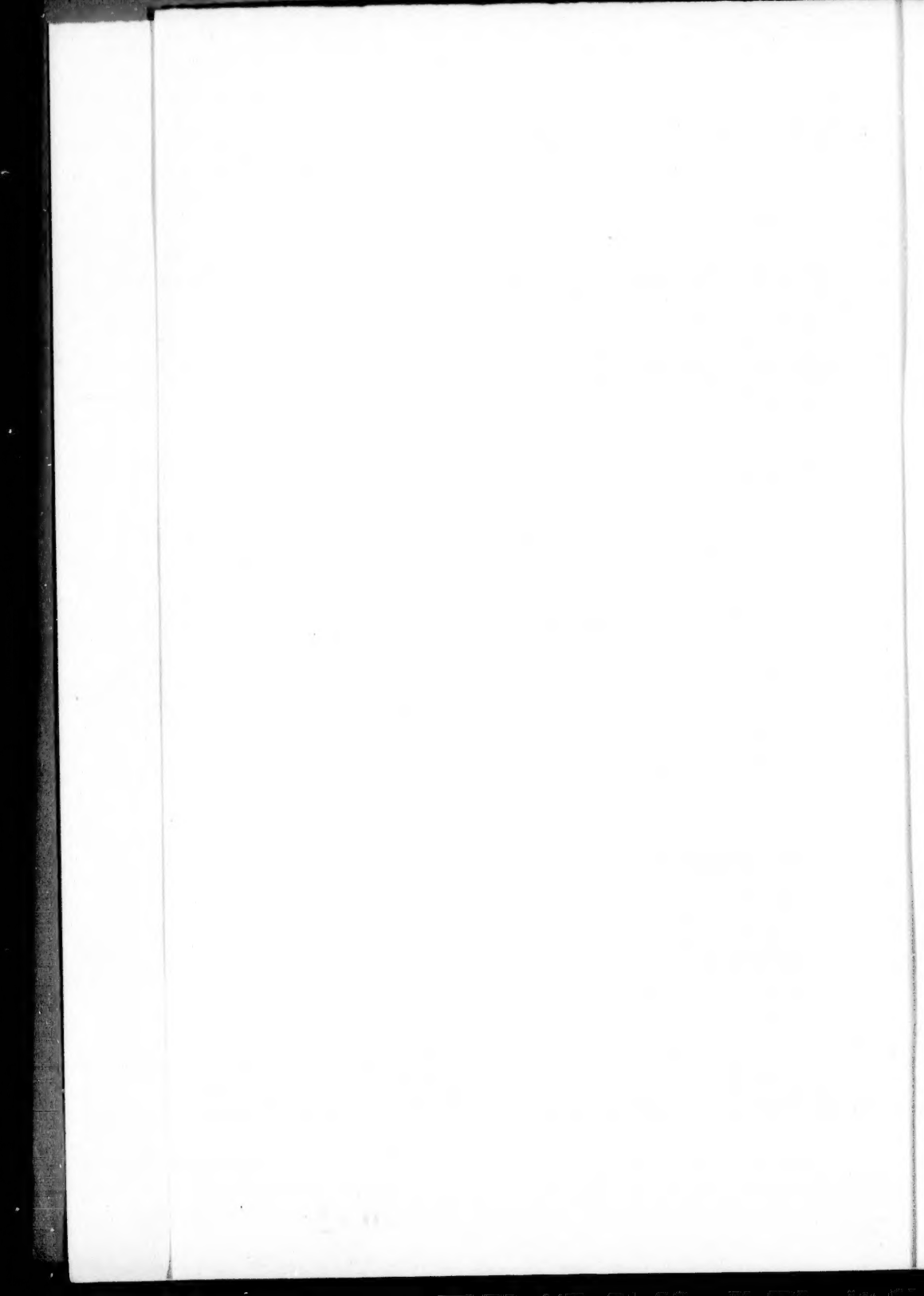
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THE COLONIAL SOCIETY.



THE INAUGURAL DINNER of the Society took place on Wednesday evening, March 10, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's. The chair was occupied by Viscount Bury, M.P., the President of the Society.

About 200 noblemen and gentlemen sat down to dinner, among whom were his Excellency the Hon. Reverdy Johnson (the United States' Minister), the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. (the Prime Minister of Great Britain), his Grace the Duke of Manchester, the Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, the Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G., the Right Hon. the Earl of Albemarle, the Right Hon. Lord Alfred Churchill, the Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, Bart., M.P., the Right Hon. Hugh Childers, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, M.P., Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., Sir George E. Cartier, Bart., Sir Charles Clifford, Sir John C. Lees, the Hon. William Macdougall, C.B., the Hon. George Verdon, C.B., the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., the Hon. Dudley Fortescue, M.P., Lieut.-Col. Loyd-Lindsay, M.P., V.C., the Hon. R. H. Meade, Colonel Maude, R.A., C.B., V.C., Mr. Benjamin Moran (Secretary to the American Embassy), Mr. Molineux, Dr. Learmonth, Mr. Learmonth, Mr. Henty, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Leveson, Mr. F. A. Du Croz, Mr. Charles McGarel, Mr. Charles E. Levey, Mr. George Macleay, Mr. John Peters, Captain Charles Sturt, Captain Napier Sturt, Mr. James Youl, Mr. J. A. Bernall, Mr. H. Gilbert Smith, Mr. Henry Ingles, Mr. George Duddell, Mr. Charles Broad, Mr. F. C. Cundy, Mr. Francis Parry, Mr. A. Morris, Mr. F. N. Gisborne, C.E., Mr. J. B. Darvall, Mr. W. C. Wentworth, Mr. G. H. Chambers, Mr. Archibald Keightley, Mr. Edward Wilson, Mr. Lachlan Mackinnon, Mr. Lachlan Mackinnon, Jun., Mr. William Killim, Mr. Charles Killim, Mr. Edward B. Neill, Mr. Allan Spowers, Mr. Arthur N. Birch, Mr. F. G. Goodliffe, Mr. F. W. Rae, Mr. A. R. Roche, Mr. John Reeve, Mr. R. Brere-

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The objects of the Society are to provide a Place of Meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and a Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial productions; to facilitate the interchange of experiences among persons representing all the dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for reading papers, and for holding discussions, upon Colonial subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. The Rules do not permit of any paper being read, or discussion being held, tending to give to the Society a political or a party character.

The dinner was served in the large Hall, and the cloth having been removed, the following toasts were drunk and responded to:—

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I have to ask you to drink a toast which in all assemblages of Englishmen is always greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. It is usually proposed without one word of comment, and I shall follow the good example; but I must say, that if ever there were an occasion upon which that good rule should be broken through, it would be upon this, when from every part, and from every corner of the earth, subjects of Her Majesty are assembled in one room to drink her health. I might say, without fear of contradiction, that this assemblage is absolutely unprecedented, and I am quite sure that the toast which I propose, namely, ‘The Health of Her

Majesty the Queen,' has never before been drunk with more enthusiasm than it will be now. (Loud cheers.)

The toast was drunk with much enthusiasm.

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I have now to propose to you the second toast upon our list—namely, 'The Health of the Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.' (Cheers.)

The toast was drunk amidst cheers.

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, the next toast which I have to propose to you is 'The Prosperity of the United States' (cheers), and I have the honour of coupling with that toast the name of our distinguished guest—Mr. Reverdy Johnson. (Cheers.) Of all the colonising nations which went forth as soon as the New World was discovered, Great Britain, if not the foremost, at any rate was one of the foremost. She planted a people in the West who eventually became a great nation. Since the time when the Pilgrim Fathers first landed in the New World, a nation second to none upon the earth has grown up there. (Cheers.) There have been between that nation and the Mother-country quarrels, but they were but family quarrels, and were always succeeded by friendship still more cemented than before. (Hear, hear.) In process of time our country sent forth outshoots in other directions. Their descendants are gathered around this table to-day. The descendants of Great Britain's younger sons, greet the Representative of the eldest born! I give you 'Prosperity to the United States of America.' (Loud cheers.) Short speeches are to be the order of the day, and I think, Gentlemen, that I need not add one single word to make you drink with the greatest enthusiasm the toast of 'The United States.' (Cheers.)

The toast was warmly received.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson rose, and was received with cheers.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson.—My Lords and Gentlemen, for the toast which my Lord has offered, and for the manner in which it has been received by the company, I return you my sincerest thanks. The people of the United States can never be indifferent to the opinion of such gentlemen as those in the presence of whom I now stand, representing, as I am told, nearly all the Colonies of your kingdom, and having amongst them those who have conducted your Imperial Government with an ability, which it is believed, as far as oratory at least is concerned, was never excelled. The people of the United States will hail with delight the fact that, in the person of their Representative, you have done honour to them; and I beg you to be assured that, however it may for a time appear that, owing to the natural effervescence of feeling incident to a republic, and owing also to causes to which I only dare to allude, there may be considerable evidences of unkindness to the Mother-country, you may be satisfied that in the

hearts of the sober and reflecting people of my country, there exists a fixed and determined love and adoration for England. (Cheers.) I am not acquainted, my Lord, as well as I should be, with the colonial system by which your forty or fifty Colonies are governed, my attention having been called almost exclusively to the duties connected with my profession at home, and to my public duties there as a senator of the United States; but I know this, that it can be a system only which recognises the great principles of freedom upon which the structure of the Imperial Government itself rests. (Cheers.) In that the Colonies, as well as the Mother-country, differ but in name from my own country; but they all rest upon the same foundation, and I trust in God that they will continue so to rest until the end of time, diffusing the blessings of liberty throughout the world, and extending other advantages to as great a perfection as humanity is capable of. (Hear, hear.)

We, my Lord, have now no Colonies. I say 'now.' In the beginning of our Government doubts were entertained—not doubts, perhaps—I should rather say settled opinions were entertained, that under the Constitution of the United States there was no authority whatever even to enlarge the territorial dominions which then belonged to the United States. But those doubts have long since been removed, and now the opinion of all is, that the Government of the United States has the power, either by conquest or by treaty, to obtain territory anywhere, whether continuous or not. And, my Lords, it is possible with your consent, but not without (God forbid that any attempt of the sort should be made without the consent of both parties!), that some of the Colonies which now flourish under the dominion of Her Majesty, and have so much reason to be proud of that dominion, may in process of time find themselves under the stars and stripes of the flag of the United States, where, if they shall come, they will soon find that there also they will have a country of which they and all Englishmen may have occasion to be proud. But that day I trust is far distant. (Hear, hear.) God forbid that any part of the dominions of Her Majesty should be curtailed! The world lives if the Government remains as it is: the happiness of mankind is that it should remain as it is. Civilisation, and that highest of all civilisation, Christian civilisation, would receive a sad blow, if, by any disaster, God should afflict the world with any injury to the power and glory of England. (Hear, hear.)

The United States, my Lord, have passed through a dreadful trial. It gave rise to differences of opinion at home and elsewhere; but these are now at an end. Our Government is at this moment stronger than it ever was, and, however insane the effort was thought to be when it was made in 1861 to destroy it, it would now be considered even more insane if the attempt should be made, and no such attempt is to be anticipated. We will therefore go on prospering and to prosper. But, in order to be prospering and to prosper, it is, in my judgment,

essential that we should be the firm, sincere, and constant friends of Great Britain. (Cheers.) And this is to be the case. With such gentlemen as now adorn the Government of Her Majesty, giving to the highest stations which they fill even more honour than those stations confer upon them, it is impossible but that they shall see that their Government is as much interested in the continuance of peace as the Government of the United States. (Hear, hear.) And seeing that they will extend the hand of friendship to us, which will be seized with avidity and with sincerity; and in the end (and soon too will that end come), all the small clouds which now hang above us will be dispersed, and nothing will be seen but that glorious sunlight which I trust may ever shine upon the two countries. (Cheers.)

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, the next toast which I have to propose is 'The Health of the Army, Navy, and Volunteers.' That toast requires no preface from me, and no preface shall I give it. I shall call upon to respond to the toast for the Navy, the Right Hon. Hugh Childers, who is personally known to many here as having been connected with a common country far from this. (Hear, hear.) The Right Hon. Hugh Childers, who is the representative of our Navy, was for many years of his life an inhabitant of one of our most distant Colonies, and in fact took the most prominent part in its administration. It is upon that ground, I believe mainly from old recollections, that Mr. Childers has consented to honour our board to-night, and to appear not only as a member of the Colonial Society, but in another capacity—as one of its most honoured guests. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Army, and to the Volunteers, we have among us a General Officer who commenced his career at Waterloo. (Cheers.) I allude to Lieut.-General the Earl of Albemarle. (Cheers.) And as a representative of the Volunteers, we have one who as a Guardsman won his Victoria Cross at the Alma. (Cheers.) With three such, representing the three Services, you will at once agree with me that no great preface of mine is necessary. I call upon you, Gentlemen, to drink to the 'Health of the Army, the Navy, and the Volunteers.'

The toast having been drunk,

The Earl of Albemarle said:—In this free country there is one anomaly, namely, that the Chairman is a despot during his reign, and all family associations are turned upside down. I have, therefore, nothing to do but to obey the Chairman's command in the fewest words possible, and to return thanks for the compliment which has been paid to the profession to which I belong. I have had a private command from the chair, which I shall also obey, and the propriety of which you will clearly see. I will not repeat the exact words, but this was the substance: 'If you have got a speech cut it very short, for I have on my list a lot of bigwigs, whom they are very much more desirous of hearing than you.' I therefore will not trouble you with any

of my own Colonial remembrances, although I have passed many happy years in the Colonies; but I will return my thanks to you, and I wish every success to a Society for which, you may naturally conceive, I feel a parental affection. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Childers rose, and was received with cheers.

Mr. Childers.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I feel it a very great honour to be allowed on this occasion to return thanks for the Navy, because in an assembly of colonists it is peculiarly agreeable to myself, who am a colonist, to come forward as such, and, as has been stated by you, my Lord Bury, to once more claim the rights of an inhabitant of one of our most prosperous though distant dependencies. My Lords and Gentlemen, I return you most sincerely my thanks, on the part of the Navy, for the manner in which you have drunk the health of that gallant Service. The Navy has always been associated with our Colonies. 'Ships, Colonies, and Commerce!' was an old toast often given in this country; and of all the Services with which the Colonies are connected, and of which they are proud, there is none of which they are more proud than the Navy of England. (Hear, hear.) And, my Lords, all my colonists at all times look with fond affection to what we call 'Home.' We do not look upon the sea as that which separates us from home, but as that which connects us with home—(hear, hear); and looking upon the sea in that way, we always feel the greatest affection for that which carries us over the sea, and above all for the British Navy, the pride of the ocean. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, in this assembly, as in all other assemblies of colonists, there is no toast which it is more pleasant to give, and there is no toast which it is more agreeable to respond to, than that of the Navy of England. I thank you, gentlemen, most sincerely for the manner in which you have received the Navy. (Cheers.)

Colonel Lloyd-Lindsay.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I assure you that I consider it a high honour to be a member of a social board of our own countrymen, and upon an occasion of this sort, when are assembled together, not exclusively those who have been born in these Islands, but those who are still fellow-subjects with us of Her Majesty the Queen, the honour is still more appreciated by us. I assure you that it is a high honour, which we as Volunteers are very proud of, that the example which we have set of training our citizens as soldiers, has been followed, and followed successfully, by the colonists; and, although I cannot speak from my own experience, yet I am frequently assured by distinguished officers in the Army, that the Colonial Volunteers are, in their energy, and in their determination to acquire a knowledge of the use of arms, even more active and more zealous than our Volunteers at home. My Lords and Gentlemen, permit me to say that I sincerely congratulate my old comrade in arms, Lord Bury, upon this successful gathering of this as-

sembly of distinguished persons. (Hear, hear.) As Volunteers we know well the value of the old proverb, which says 'Union is force'; and I believe, that whatever may be the secondary motives of this great Society, at all events one motive, and one prominent motive, is to render more close the union between the Mother-country and the Colonies. (Cheers.) I sincerely hope this union between the two, which has been so well commenced, may prosper and may go forth, and be of great advantage both to the mother and to her children. Gentlemen, I thank you for drinking the health of the Volunteers. (Cheers.)

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, the next toast which I have to propose is one which is very important in its character: it is that of Her Majesty's Ministers. (Cheers.) It would be idle for me to say that we have assembled around our board to-night men of all political opinions, if in that phrase only those political differences be included which characterise these Islands. We have not only the Whig and the Tory (to distinguish them by their ancient names), but we have representatives from all our Colonies, and of all shades of political opinion which divide parties in those Colonies. I suppose that, if we were to try to sum up the divergence of political opinions which actually subsists among us at this moment, we should be frightened at the aggregate amount. (A laugh.) It is therefore, perhaps, fortunate that a fundamental rule of our Society prohibits us from talking party politics. We must obey that rule in its utmost strictness. But we cannot but remember that we have here present four Cabinet Ministers, who have done us the honour to assist at our board to-day. (Cheers.) I am sure that, regarding them as the Executive of the Great Council of this nation, we can, without any admixture of political difference, cordially unite to drink their healths. (Cheers.) And when among those who are present we have the Prime Minister of this country—(cheers)—the man to whom, in a great crisis of our history, a great constitutional question has been referred for settlement—the man who, distinguished among all his compeers by his eloquence and by his talents, stands foremost in the councils of our beloved Queen—a man of whom we can all be proud, as a citizen of our common country, distant though some portions of that country may be; and though seas may roll between the place in which we are now assembled, and the native homes of some who sit around me, yet we all claim with Mr. Gladstone a common citizenship and a common allegiance to our Queen. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, as the representative of the Executive of our country, as its first officer, as its chief, and as its head—as a man of whom, whatever our political differences, we are proud, and whom we are delighted to see amongst us—I ask you to drink 'The Health of Her Majesty's Ministers,' and I couple with that toast the name of Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.)—The toast was drunk amidst prolonged applause.

Mr. Gladstone rose, and was received with loud cheers.

Mr. Gladstone.—I thank you, my Lord, and I thank you, my Lords

and Gentlemen, on my own behalf and on that of my colleagues, for the manner in which this toast has been both given and received. At the same time, while I appreciate that manner, I completely understand the grounds upon which we appear here, and I should be the first to protest, if protest were necessary, against any attempt to fix what we should call a political colour to a company of this nature. I fully recognise that, in drinking the health of the Government of the day, you pay a token of respect to that executive authority which, happily, in this country enjoys the respect, as the executive authority, of the entire community. (Hear, hear.) My Lords and Gentlemen, I find in the mode in which you are enabled to receive such a toast, a most gratifying testimony to the fact that, although differences of political opinion are permanent, and must be permanent, among us, and although at peculiar junctures of the national fortunes they may be wide and deeply marked, yet, so far as regards the vital article of Colonial Policy, there has for many years past been a happy approximation in the opinions and convictions of public men, of whatever party, which has led us far, and very far indeed, towards the attainment of a great Imperial object—namely, the removal of the fortunes of the colonists from all the minor and, so to speak, local troubles of the internal affairs of the Mother-country. (Hear, hear.) And we have, my Lords and Gentlemen, the belief that we, having acceded to office with certain professions of opinions and pledges with regard to our conduct, shall do that which every body of English gentlemen will be forward and zealous to do—namely, to redeem those pledges, and to act upon those principles to the utmost extent to which our powers and opportunities may go.

My Lord, having said that for myself, I am very thankful to you, even if I feel myself little worthy of the honour, for the permission which you have given me to propose to this company the toast which signalises the occasion on which we are met together: I mean "Prosperity to the Colonial Society!" (Cheers.) It is so long, my Lord, since I was permitted to plead any special interest in colonial affairs, that probably the circumstance of my ever having had a title to plead such an interest has passed from the memory of those who ever knew it, and to most of those who sit at this board it will be totally unknown. It is thirty-four years since I was first a member of the staff of the Colonial Department; it is twenty-three years since I last held office in that department. If I advert to those dates, it is not for the sake of gratifying an antiquarian curiosity, nor for the sake of pointing out what I am afraid is a truism as well as a truth—namely, that those who once have been young are apt in the course of time to grow old. It is for a very different and for a worthier purpose. Looking over those years, no one can fail to be struck with the great change (and that change I will venture to say has been all improvement), which has in the interval passed over the spirit of our Colonial Policy. In the days when I was

accustomed to wear out with my footsteps the stairs of the Colonial Office, that office was haunted by a disembodied spirit, which spirit received a painful distinction under the title of 'Mr. Mother Country'; and while that description conveys no inaccurate idea of the narrow traditions which still hung about the conceptions of English statesmen, more or less, although they were in process of being discharged at that period, on the other side of the water also, in every British Colony, there was a party, which I rejoice to think has since been totally extinguished, under the name of the 'British Party.' (Hear, hear.) I believe that I speak within the hearing of those who remember the circumstances and struggles of those times, and many of us in this country were taught to believe, or at least efforts were made to teach us, that upon this 'British Party,' which invariably represented an insignificant minority, depended the whole hope of maintaining the connection between England and its Colonies, and that if anything were done to offend that 'British Party,' or to recognise the vast majority of the colonial community as having a claim upon our sympathies and our actions, such a policy was certain to be fatal to the Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.) My Lords and Gentlemen, this was a state of things so strange, that to recall it now seems like bringing back from the grave the spirits of the dead, so wholly is that state of things without a representative in the condition of affairs which now exists. I rejoice, my Lord, that you have succeeded in gathering round this board, to enjoy your hospitality, the representatives of the entire British family, and that a great branch—possibly the greatest branch, but at any rate one of the greatest branches—of that family is here represented among us by one who, though numerically but an individual, yet has in him a heart which beats warmly with the sympathies which belong to the origin from which he derives his name, and the traditions of his country, and who, in a manner inferior to none that have gone before him, is qualified to represent that spirit of brotherhood which ought to unite throughout the world the whole British race. (Cheers.)

There is no degree of latitude and no degree of longitude, upon the whole surface of the globe, I may almost say, which has not offered its contribution to this meeting; and I rejoice, my Lord, that the time has come when it is fully recognised that, while the affection between England and her Colonies grows stronger and stronger, the nature of the relation between them is also better and better understood: a relation undoubtedly associated with great Imperial interests, but founded upon something yet higher and deeper than interest, founded upon honour and affection, and having, above all, for its basis the essential principle of freedom—a departure from which, or the slightest impairing of which, in the policy which governs the conduct of this country towards her Colonies, would at once destroy both the charm and the value of the connection which subsists between them. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to

think that the time has come when those facilities of communication, which now bring into neighbourhood the remotest quarters of the globe, have enabled you to organise a Society, which will have the hope of quickening, by constant personal intercourse and feelings of neighbourhood, the relationship which ought to unite all our Colonies. Other clubs, my Lord, have in view the maintenance of a relation between friends and classes. Your Society contemplates a nobler object, that of handing down from generation to generation the great and noble tradition of the unity of the British race. I drink to the health of the Colonial Society ! (Cheers.)

The toast was enthusiastically drunk.

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I rise on the part of our Society to return my grateful thanks, in our united names, for the toast which has just been proposed. For the eloquence which stirs the blood, for the kindness which moves the heart, commend me to my right hon. friend who sits upon my left. I am sure that no one can have heard those stirring words which he has addressed to us—no one can have heard the way in which he spoke of the ties which ought to bind all the scattered dependencies of our Mother-country together—no one could have seen how the heart of the man translated itself into burning words, but knew that there at last he heard the ring of that true eloquence which, coming from the heart of the orator, strikes deep into the heart of a people. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I have, I believe, as Chairman of this meeting, consulted your views and your wishes in saying as few words as possible of my own. On this occasion I will not enter, as in your presence it would be useless, into the reasons of the formation of the Society, and the part which the Society is destined to fulfil. On Monday next our Inaugural Meeting will be held, and until then that discussion may be most properly adjourned. We are now met together for a merely social purpose : we are met to celebrate the commencement of our Society, and I say that it has been worthily begun when it has been opened by words of eloquence like those to which we have listened. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I return thanks to Mr. Gladstone, and to Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and to our other distinguished guests, for the way in which they have drunk the health of the Colonial Society ; and I will say, in its name and in my own, on behalf of that Society, that I hope there is a career of usefulness before us, and that we shall never disgrace the commencement of the Society which has been inaugurated to-day. (Cheers.)

Mr Chichester Fortescue.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen, the toast with which I have been charged to-night is that of 'Representative Institutions,' a toast which I need hardly say would require a volume of written or spoken eloquence to do it the smallest justice. But, Gentlemen, at the same time I believe that there can be no occasion upon which this toast could be more suitable than the present. We are met

to do honour to the inauguration of a Society which is intended to be a place of union and meeting for all parts of the great British Empire, and we are met in a country and in a city which are the model and the cradle of Representative Institutions all the world over. Gentlemen, it may safely be said that the ancient Parliament of Westminster—which has lately renewed its youth, as we all hope, and drawn fresh strength for the future, by a new contact with its native soil—is the exemplar and the model of the representative system all over the civilised world. That representative system is, as we all know, one of the greatest of human inventions. It is distinguished from the system which prevailed in the free commonwealths of the ancient and mediæval world, when the citizens managed their own affairs in person upon a very small scale—communities which were brilliant in their history and achievements, but small and limited in their size. But the representative system, which I have called an invention, but which would be more truly described as a natural outgrowth of the needs of political and social man, has been the means, and the only means yet discovered by the human race, which enables great societies and great nations to govern themselves; and of that system, I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that the ancient Parliament which sits at Westminster is the mother and the model. (Hear, hear.) That example has been followed, although imperfectly and fitfully, by some nations upon the Continent of Europe. But (and this interests us more upon the present occasion) that great example has been fully and admirably followed in another and a newer continent. The only rival of the Parliament which sits at Westminster is the great body which sits at Washington. (Hear, hear.) That model has been followed by all the representative institutions which cover the soil of America, and which culminate in the Congress of the United States; and that model has been followed even more faithfully, and more literally according to our British ideas, in the Parliaments which now, I rejoice to say, rule all over the Colonies, properly so called, of British origin and of British race in every quarter of the world. The first of those Parliaments, I need hardly tell you, is the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada—(hear, hear)—which I am happy to think is worthily represented at our board to-night. (Cheers.) But the Parliamentary system of Great Britain is not confined to Canada; it is now enjoyed by every community, as far as I know, large or small, of British origin all the world over; and in spite of all drawbacks, and all troubles and difficulties, of which we sometimes hear too much in this country, my belief is that the Parliamentary system is triumphing and succeeding in all communities which are of British origin.

Gentlemen, this art of self-government is one of those many physical and moral arts which are not to be taught from without. No amount of good advice from the Mother-country, no number of leading

articles in our leading journals, will teach our Colonies the art of governing themselves: they must learn it by practice, and they are doing so, in spite of all drawbacks, in spite of all temporary and momentary failures, and in spite of all troubles and difficulties; and they are fighting their way towards the great and supreme art of free and independent administration. I therefore, Gentlemen, augur in connection with this toast of 'Representative Institutions,' a brilliant future for that system throughout the Colonies of the British Crown. And, Gentlemen, before I sit down, I may be allowed to say one word with respect to the special object for which we are gathered together to-night. It so happens that I have taken a warm interest in the origin of this Society. (Cheers.) I have been latterly engrossed by duties nearer home, which leave no time to any man to attend to any other objects; but it delights me, having seen the first beginnings of this Society, to see the brilliant company which is gathered around this board to-night, to do honour to its inauguration; and I can only say that my hope and my firm belief is, that the Colonial Society will be one of the most valuable and important Representative Institutions of the colonial system. (Hear, hear.) I have only, in conclusion, to say that, in order to return thanks for this toast, I call upon the Duke of Manchester to return thanks for the House of Lords, upon Sir John Pakington to return thanks for the House of Commons, and upon Sir George Cartier to return thanks for the Colonial Parliaments of the Empire. (Cheers.)

The toast was enthusiastically drunk.

The Duke of Manchester.—My Lord Bury, I am really proud that it should be my good fortune to have been called upon to-night to return thanks for one of the Representative Institutions of the British race, on this first occasion when the representatives of the British race are assembled. With regard to the House of Lords, although I believe that its constitution has lately been questioned, the only fault which I wish to find with it is, that it has no representatives of the Colonies among its ranks. For myself I would go further. I say that you colonists have a right to be represented in the Constitution as you are represented here to-night. (Hear, hear.) I think that we of the Parliament of Westminster have no right, without consulting your opinions, to influence the policy which is guided by one who has lately addressed you in most eloquent terms. I think that you colonists are, as we may say, the children of 'Mr. Mother Country,' as has been lately said. You are our descendants, now grown to man's estate; and if any foreign war with a Continental power were to arise, probably the Colonies would suffer more from it than the Mother-country. I therefore say that the Colonies have eminently a claim to pronounce their opinion, and give their advice, on the policy of the Empire. I hope that this social gathering may, at some future day, lead to a Council in which

the Colonies and Great Britain may be represented in due proportions. As I have said before, I am very proud of the opportunity of having been called upon to return thanks for one of the Representative Institutions of the British race, and I only hope that at some future day, all the representative and legislative bodies of the British race, represented as they are at these tables, and which, we may say, encircle the globe, may find some central body in the Constitution of the Empire, with effective legislative power, and a power and an influence over the destinies and the laws of the country.

Sir John Pakington.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I obey the call which you have done me the honour of making upon me to respond to the toast of 'The House of Commons'; and in fulfilling that duty, I will endeavour not to forget his Lordship's caution that brevity is the order of the day. Gentlemen, I regard this toast as relating to one of the greatest, and the noblest, and the most peculiar national institutions of this country, rather than to that House of Commons which has recently been elected, and the members of which, having been only recently elected, have scarcely yet entered upon the arduous duties which they have undertaken. But, Gentlemen, I will venture to say this much for the present House of Commons, although I fear I can hardly approve of the political complexion of that House as some of those gentlemen approve of it whom I have the pleasure of seeing round this table at the present moment; and, Gentlemen, it is with sincerity that I say that I have the pleasure of seeing them, for I think that you will agree with me that there never was an occasion when anything like party-feeling was more out of place than at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding this fact, I do with confidence express my hope, and my belief, that looking to the constitution of the present House of Commons, and looking at the materials of which it is composed, it will honestly discharge those high functions which devolve upon the representatives of this country in Parliament, in a manner which may not be unworthy of their predecessors in the House of Commons of this great country. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, simultaneously with the rapid increase of wealth and population and prosperity in this great Empire, which has been so remarkable during the present century, the labours and duties of members of the House of Commons have undergone at least an equal, if not a greater increase. The public at large are little aware, from what they read in the daily newspapers, of the enormous amount of business which the House of Commons transacts, or of the exertions and the labour which the transaction of that business requires. And I confess that I am one of those (I believe that I am one of not a few) who have sometimes been disposed to feel apprehensive lest those who by their education, and by their independent position in life, are well fitted to take part in the councils of the nation, should be deterred by the great increase of the

work which devolves upon the members of the Legislature, from seeking the honour of seats in that Legislature. But I rejoice to say that, as regards the recent elections, we have seen nothing to confirm those fears. It is, I think, greatly to the national honour, that not only leading merchants and manufacturers and professional men, but the highest of our nobility, and the highest and the wealthiest and the most distinguished of our countrymen, have shown themselves as eager as ever to bear the fatigues and to share the honours of Parliamentary life. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, long may that spirit continue; and so long as that spirit does continue, we may feel assured that, whatever may be our Parliamentary differences, the legislation of England will be conducted in a patriotic and an honourable spirit. (Cheers.) I think I may venture confidently to say, that amongst the high duties which devolve upon the House of Commons, they have not neglected, and I feel very sure that they will not neglect, to pay attention to those questions which relate to the welfare of our Colonies—(cheers)—and I hope, and I trust, that the example of that great and distinguished assembly the British House of Parliament (that mother and model, as Mr. Chichester Fortescue has called us, of Representative Institutions), will not be lost upon those noble dependencies of the British Crown which are now rising to maturity in all parts of the world. It is with no small pleasure that I have upon this occasion the honour of renewing, I may say, my friendship with many eminent statesmen from the Colonies. I see here Sir George Cartier, I see Sir Charles Nicholson, I see Sir Charles Clifford, and other gentlemen, distinguished in their respective Colonies, and it is delightful to see them upon this occasion. It is to such men that we must mainly trust to impress upon our fellow-countrymen the real value of British institutions; and thus to draw closer those ties of amity and of kind feeling which ought to exist between the members of the Anglo-Saxon race in all parts of the world. Gentlemen, I believe that there is nothing which we can better do here at home to draw nearer those ties of amity and kind feeling than by the institution of such a Society as we have now inaugurated. And in closing these few remarks, let me thank you for the honour which you have done me in asking me to take a part in this Inaugural Meeting, and let me express my hope that this Society may be productive of every benefit which its promoters can possibly anticipate.

Sir George Cartier.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I must say at the outset, that it requires from me a certain amount of boldness to address you after the eloquent speeches which have been made, and particularly in the presence of the Premier of England, who stands in this country not merely as the premier in the political world, but who also stands as one of the foremost in eloquence, and as a scholar. As a matter of course, if you expect anything eloquent

from me, I must tell you at once that you will be disappointed. At all events, I will do my utmost, and I am sure you will excuse my shortcomings. My name is connected with this toast as relating to the Colonial Parliaments. I regret very much that the selection fell on me to answer for the representative bodies, as applied and carried out in the Colonies which have the happiness to be connected with the British Empire—with the Mother-country. (Hear, hear.) With regard to us, when we formed our Confederation, namely, the Dominion of Canada, we were allowed by the liberality of the English Parliament and the English Government to set our brains to work, in order to present our own scheme of representation to the English Parliament for adoption. The Constitution which we enjoy was enacted by us, though it is by virtue of an Imperial Act. It was not the initiation of the British Parliament, or of the British nation; we were allowed by the liberality of England to do it ourselves. (Cheers.) We came before the English Government—we came before the English Parliament—we presented a system which was of course a representative system; and it is a great source, I will not say of pride, but a great source of encouragement, to the public men who then took part in that great scheme, that it was adopted by the English Government and by the British Parliament without, I may say, a word of alteration. (Hear, hear.) We feel grateful for the freedom of action which was given to us on that occasion. When we had to consider what would be the Representative Institutions which ought to rule the great Dominion of Canada, we had, as a matter of course, to look into the past or the present history of nations which had enjoyed, or were enjoying, Representative Institutions. We came to the conclusion that a legislative body, to be useful, ought to represent the sense of rectitude of the nation, but not the passions of the nation. (Hear, hear.) Consequently, we adopted a system of representative government which allowed the representatives elected a certain length of Parliamentary life, in order to achieve great things. We did not like that the Parliamentary trust should be a mere species of power to last for only one session, and then to have another election. We wanted that there should be a trust, in order that the electors themselves should show that they had confidence in those whom they elected; and then that those who were elected should show, in return, to those who had elected them, the realisation of their promises, made in honour, that they would legislate according to the interest and the welfare of the community at the time.

Monsieur Guizot, I think, said on one occasion, that 'common sense rules the world in the long run.' It is so, and consequently a Parliament of small duration, an annual Parliament, or a Parliament of too short duration, can never do any great work. With regard to us, we do not find fault with our neighbours. We are good friends with

our neighbours, and at this festive board, in the presence of the illustrious Minister who represents that great nation—(hear, hear)—I am glad to have this opportunity of telling him that with regard to him, and with regard to ourselves, we are as fully in the exercise of our freedom as anyone on the earth. Our Dominion, our Confederation, is not formed on the democratic principle; the representative element is a part of it, but it is founded on a monarchical basis. Our neighbours have their Confederation based entirely on the democratic principle; they have tried the experiment, and it is a great success; but we have tried our system to some extent, and we expect that its trial will result in this—that so long as England shall be England, and so long as England shall enjoy the freedom and the advantage of a Parliament, our political gravitation and our political affection will always be towards the Mother-country. (Hear, hear.) In order that we may not lose sight of this fact, that we have founded a great Empire which will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, we intend that all that immense territory shall be well governed, and governed not merely on a selfish principle as applied to us, but in order to add to the power and to the prosperity of the Mother-country. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that there will never be any cause of difficulty between England and our friendly neighbours on account of ourselves, or on account of England or of themselves. But it matters not; if that unfortunate day shall ever come, we in Canada are ready to accept our position. (Hear, hear.) We will accept the situation of the moment. But everyone of us who understands the natural inclination of our neighbours, as well as of ourselves or of Englishmen, to enjoy peace, is convinced that that unfortunate day will not come. If, however, it ever should come, we will be there. (Loud and continued cheers.)

My Lord, I have heard a great deal this evening with regard to the Anglo-Saxon race. I had the honour to be presented to Her Majesty when she graciously gave me an invitation, ten or twelve years ago, to go to Windsor, and Her Majesty was kind enough to interrogate me about the French Canadians. The shortest definition which I could give (because you must always be brief to Royalty, and perhaps to this meeting) was, that the French Canadians, as well as myself, were Englishmen speaking French. (Cheers). They appreciate the worth and the value of Saxon blood; and I cannot lose sight of the fact that there is an admixture of Norman blood, with the best blood of England. I merely mention this to show that I am not in any way wounded by the admission, because I know a little of past history. With regard to ourselves on the other side, the two races there are Frenchmen and Englishmen; we are Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen in Lower Canada have proved (or rather Englishmen speaking French,) that we can carry out Representative Institutions. It is said, by our neighbours opposite here, that representative and free government can-

not be carried out. If they looked to that French Colony, which a few years ago numbered only 45,000, and which now numbers 1,000,000, they would see that the carrying out of the representative system has been a success. I thank you, my Lords and Gentlemen. (Cheers.)

Marquis of Normanby.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I can assure you that it is with great satisfaction that I rise in such an assembly as this to propose the toast which has been committed to my charge, and I am sure that in this assembly it will need little from me to recommend the toast to your notice. I am aware that there are some persons who maintain that this country derives little benefit from our Colonies, and profess anxiety that the connection should cease. I am sure that no sentiment such as that will find favour in this meeting—(hear, hear)—and it is a doctrine which I, for one, must entirely repudiate. That in the lapse of time, with the increase of the Colonies both in wealth and population, a period may arrive when it may be found advantageous, both to the Colonies and to this country, that they should establish their own independence, I do not deny; but that the time has now arrived I do not believe. I believe that the union is advantageous both to this country and to the Colonies, and I also believe that the wise legislation and the wise policy which have been adopted towards the Colonies have so cemented the union which exists between us, and so bound together the Colonies with this country, that there is little fear of such a time arriving. The Colonies now have institutions as free as any in the world; they have the entire management of their own affairs, and they can derive little advantage from any separation from this country. This country, on the other hand, has the Colonies as a field for her commercial enterprise, and the natural field to which her surplus population should emigrate. I trust that the Society which we are met together this evening to inaugurate, will tend greatly to dispel that ignorance (for I can call it by no other term), which unfortunately exists in this country as regards her Colonies. This ignorance, however, is not difficult to account for. In young societies it is not the custom to spend much time in writing histories, and I know nothing more difficult, if one is anxious to obtain information with regard to any particular colony with which one is not personally acquainted, than to find the means of obtaining that information. For the purpose of emigration, there is nothing more important than that a person who intends to emigrate should be able to obtain authentic and reliable information, in order that he may decide in which direction to turn his steps. In this country, hemmed in as we are on all sides, and unable in any way to extend our natural boundaries, we must look to the Colonies for the relief of our surplus population, and whether it be a skilled artisan, an agricultural labourer, or a small capitalist, or a man with larger possessions, they can each and all find ample employment in the various Colonies. I trust, therefore, that the Society which has now been

inaugurated will tend to promote and to unite and to cement the love and affection and loyalty of our Colonies. I give the toast of 'The Colonial Empire,' coupling with it my Lord Granville's name.

The toast was drunk amidst great applause.

Earl Granville.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I beg to thank you for the kindness with which you have received this toast. Lord Bury, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, and Lord Normanby have all alluded to the objects which this Society proposes to itself. I cannot help feeling that if those objects were carried out in the manner in which I expect that they will be, although they may not at once lead to that Council of Government which was so gracefully alluded to by the noble Duke on my right, yet they will take away the sting of that witty saying that the Colonies were planets which looked towards the sun and did not think much of one another. I cannot help feeling that in my present position any kindness from an assembly like this, while it makes one feel still more the responsibility of what has been undertaken, is yet a very great encouragement to do one's best. (Hear, hear.) I happened to mention the other night to some friends that I had received another encouragement from a very distinguished friend of mine, who, upon congratulating me upon the office, said that it was one which he always thought required merely a modicum of sense. Now that phrase is somewhat vague, for I fear that sense is a quality of which we are always apt to attribute to ourselves more than our friends are inclined to give to us. But of this one fact I am certain, that no sense on my part or on the part of Mr. Monsell, whose compulsory absence this evening he regrets so much, will enable us to do without the assistance of the talent and the ability to be found in so remarkable a degree in the permanent staff of the Colonial Department. I am, indeed, rather afraid that the Minister of the Great Republic, who has spoken with such singular eloquence to-night, will feel that it is a little want of sense on my part, or possibly novelty in my office, which makes me unprepared at this moment to open negotiations with him for ceding the British Colonies to the Great Republic. (Hear, hear.) But I can assure him that I have sufficient sense to appreciate at their just value those powerful expressions of his, going to prove that it would be absolute insanity for that great country and ourselves to be ever on any other than the most friendly terms. (Hear, hear.) We have had a great many hints, to use the words of a somewhat learned judge to a somewhat prolix counsel, that time is passing; and I am certainly not inclined to answer, as that counsel did, 'Let it pass, my lord.' But there are two points, I think, of some interest to an assembly like this, so deeply interested in colonial matters, which it is possible that you will bear with me if I very shortly allude to. (Hear, hear.) One of the subjects which has necessarily occupied my attention since the change of

Government has been the transfer of the whole of British North America, excepting British Columbia, to the Dominion of Canada. My noble predecessor had taken very great pains on the subject, and had invited the presence of those eminent men the two delegates from Canada, one of whom we have heard to-night describing himself as an Englishman talking French, but who talked English with a power which made him a worthy representative of one of the great offshoots of this country—(hear, hear)—and I have not the slightest doubt that in a few minutes we shall hear words equally powerful from the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, his colleague. I own that for a very long time I was perfectly hopeless of any amicable arrangement being come to on this important subject. My right hon. friend Sir Stafford Northcote, though a strong political opponent, and Sir Curtis Lampson, both enjoying the confidence of the Hudson's Bay Company, have treated me with the utmost kindness and courtesy, and I must add patience, but their opinion appeared to be as widely divergent as it is possible to imagine. My right hon. friend Sir Stafford Northcote, availing himself of our long intimacy, expressed himself to me in rather strong language. I think he said that I was 'a terrible screw.' It is perfectly clear that the representatives of the Dominion considered me as a *quasi* representative of the Hudson's Bay Company itself. My Lords and Gentlemen, I had but one weapon in my defence, but that weapon I admit is a powerful one, both in public and in private transactions; it may be termed the power of bore. I bombarded all these four gentlemen with despatches, with private letters, and with confidential notes. I plied them with interminable talk, and at last, when I judged them to be exhausted and prostrate under the effects of sheer fatigue, after a due consideration of what I believed to be Imperial interests, I fired into them a new and final proposal equally unpalatable to both; but which, I think, may possibly be accepted by them as something like a reasonable compromise. (Hear, hear.) I do not know whether there are many sporting gentlemen here present, but they may be aware that the handicapper who handicaps two races, gains his credit if both parties refuse, or if both parties accept, his verdict. I shall think myself fortunate indeed if the result of my boring be that, although both parties object, they both accept what I have laid before them.

There is one other subject of a very different character, but which I think is not without interest to those who share the feelings of different colonists in the Queen's dependencies. I do not know whether you are aware that my noble predecessor obtained Her Majesty's sanction to reorganise the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and to extend it to all the Colonies, and entirely to remodel its statutes. This work was finished so shortly before the change of Government that the noble Duke had only time to name to the second and third classes some

gentlemen whom his judgment and experience enabled him to select; and he told me that he had made an application to obtain from the Queen permission to give the Grand Cross to Lord Monck, as a just tribute to his able administration of the Government of Canada. There is obviously one objection to an exclusively Colonial Order. I believe that the noble Duke was stimulated by the example of the Star of India, and that it was also confirmed by the difficulty of obtaining the Order of the Bath for persons connected with the Colonies, who had justly earned the honour. But I think that, from the affection which is entertained towards the Mother-country by the colonists, they would feel it to be an annoyance if they were dis severed from equally eminent men connected with the Imperial Government at home. For this reason I have very great satisfaction in stating that not only His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge has consented to be the Grand Master of the renovated Order, but that Lord Derby, Lord Grey, and Lord Russell have accepted the offer of the Grand Cross which I was empowered by Her Majesty to make to them. It may be readily imagined that these three statesmen, so well known in this country—two of whom have been the dispensers of titles and decorations to many others, and the career of one of whom has been so singularly independent—should not now wish for any additional honour which their Sovereign could confer upon them; but I believe they felt that it was for the public interest that, in this almost new Order, statesmen prominently connected with colonial affairs, should be included in the first batch. Now, it happens that it is impossible to find three men who have more fulfilled that condition. Lord Derby's name was associated with that Act for the abolition of slavery which is one of the most glorious and disinterested measures which adorn the history of this country; Lord Russell gave self-government to our North American Colonies; while Lord Grey did the same in a great measure to our Australian Colonies, and has left his strong mark upon all the principal questions of Colonial Policy. It will be my humble duty to try to maintain the honourable character which has thus been placed upon this Order, and to confine my recommendations, as long as I have the honour of being connected with the Colonial Office, to those who have done real and great service to that Empire 'upon which,' if I may be allowed to repeat that well-worn but grand old Castilian phrase, 'the sun never sets.' (Cheers.)

Sir Stafford Northcote.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I rise, in obedience to the Chairman's summons, to propose the toast which has been committed to me. But before I address myself to that toast, I think you will hardly be surprised if I make a passing allusion to the speech to which I have just had the pleasure of listening from my noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Granville has told you that he was congratulated upon his accession to that high

office, on possessing what his friend truly told him was an essential requisite for a Minister, namely, a modicum of sense; and, with that modesty which distinguishes him, he has added that he does not quite know what is meant by that expression. I have had the pleasure of the noble lord's friendship for considerably more than twenty years, and I have seen him tried in various public positions, and I think that I can throw some little light upon the meaning of the gentleman who thus complimented him upon his accession to power. I have heard a definition of common sense, which I think most admirably applies to the character of my noble friend. It was defined by a very great authority as, 'a good intellect acting upon a good heart'; and I may say that in all the business which I have seen the noble lord transact, he has fulfilled that condition. I never knew him wound the feelings of any one with whom he had to do. I never knew him wanting in capacity, and I certainly never knew him wanting in intelligence; and under those circumstances, possessing those qualifications, a man in this country is able, as a public man, to do a great deal. Now certainly in this last negotiation he has contrived to bore us a great deal, to put before us proposals which seemed the most unreasonable, and to call upon us to sacrifice valuable property for, as it appeared to us, very insufficient reasons. And yet the manner in which this was done—the manner in which he would call upon one after breakfast, or send one a note to come to him after dinner—was most pleasing. He was equally good in the middle of the day and in the dark hours of the night. He contrived to put his proposals in such a form that I am prepared to say that, if there is any chance of this matter being brought to a settlement, it will be under his auspices. But, Gentlemen, I must at the present moment say that the matter has not yet been submitted to those with whom the ultimate decision will rest; and though I respond to the hope of my noble friend, that it will come to a settlement, it is impossible to say how it will be.

But, Gentlemen, I do not rise for the purpose of speaking as to the Hudson's Bay Company,—it is the last of those mercantile bodies which have done so much for the extension of the power and the name of England; but I rise rather to speak of an Empire which was founded by another and a yet more distinguished representative of that great class of English enterprise, and to propose to you the toast of 'The Empire of India.' (Cheers.) My Lord Bury, the Empire of India is fitly and appropriately associated with the objects which this Society has in view, although the Empire of India is not, properly speaking, in the ordinary sense of the term, a Colony. We are brought into communication with men who not only are not of the Anglo-Saxon race, but who have not even a drop of Norman blood in their veins, and who cannot be properly described as being as much as Englishmen speaking Hindostanee. We are brought into relations with ancient

and most illustrious and civilised peoples, of all stocks, I believe, of the human race, comprehending all religions, and comprising men of the most various political, and social, and ethnological tendencies; and being placed in relations with those men we are bound to fulfil our duties towards them. Now I wish to observe, in passing, that the relations and duties which England undertakes towards the native races with whom she is brought into contact in India, are very different from the relations and duties which she undertakes with regard to her own Colonies. As respects her own Colonies she is dealing with Anglo-Saxons like Englishmen; and what she is doing is to people the uninhabited portions of the globe, to place her sons among them, and to maintain them as long as they require her assistance, and when they are able to go alone, to place them in a position of independence and close relationship to herself, such as exists between grown-up children and their parent. But with regard to nations so different to herself as those with whom she is brought into relation in India, her task is a very different and a very delicate one, because we have at once to respect their idiosyncrasies and to respect the Oriental character. I apprehend that we should neither Anglicise India, nor at the same time allow our civilisation and our enterprise to be overloaded by the peculiarities of the Oriental character. What we have to do is to try to harmonise what is good in the English character with what is good in the Oriental character; it is no easy task, but it is a task from which we should not shrink, and I believe that we are in the right way to accomplish it. I believe that any persons who have seen anything of the Indian races, have seen how desirable it is to give a true value to the native character, and at the same time to communicate to the native races of India some portion of our own energy, and some of the advantages which we have derived from our experience in systems of government; and I most confidently look forward to the time when India will be the great support and the great jewel in the Crown of England—not as a means of benefit to us for purposes of our own, but as affording a brilliant example of the power of England to do good to the nations with whom she is brought into contact. (Hear, hear.) It will be in developing Indian enterprise and Indian resources, and in attaining honour to ourselves by making India conscious of the advantages of that connection, that we shall derive the greatest assistance and benefit from India.

My Lord, I will not detain this company, because I know that our time is short. I could have wished that in proposing this toast, I could have had the privilege of calling upon the noble Duke who now administers the affairs of India in this country to respond to it, because I well know that he is not only one who has paid great attention in past times to Indian affairs, but that he is now administering that department in a spirit which promises well for the interest of India. Or I could have

wished, in his absence, that I could have had the privilege of calling upon one who will shortly be in this country returning from his long service in India, whose name will be associated with the proudest and most brilliant times of Indian history—I allude to Sir John Lawrence. But as neither of those distinguished men can respond to this toast, I will call upon one whose name is as well known as either of the others, and as much respected, at all events in Indian circles, as any name can be. I will call upon one who is now a member of the Indian Council, and a friend of my own, and one who has borne a distinguished part in India—I mean Sir Bartle Frere.

The toast was drunk with acclamation.

Sir Bartle Frere.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I feel it no little responsibility to be called upon to return thanks for the great Indian Empire; but if anything could lessen the weight of responsibility which I feel, it would be to know that the toast has been proposed by one who on every occasion, not only in his official life, but through the whole of his public life, has given clear, consistent, and useful expression to those noble sentiments, and those noble principles, upon which I believe the people of England desire that their great Indian Empire should be uniformly governed. (Hear, hear.) My Lord, it is impossible to look around on those who are present this day, and to hear the sentiments which have been uttered this evening, without feeling that in the principles upon which you govern your Colonial Empire there should be nothing inconsistent with those upon which you govern your Indian Empire, if you wish to retain that Empire, as I hope that it will be long retained, as the most glorious appendage to the British Crown.

My Lord, there were two things which have struck me very forcibly in all that we have heard this evening. One is that under whatever form you send forth your children to colonise and create nations, it is impressed strongly upon their minds, and upon your minds, that the best guarantee for the government of those dependencies is that you take it for granted that they know something of what they owe to themselves. And there is a second great principle, and that is, that when any difference of opinion arises, and that when any difficulties present themselves for adjustment, they are best adjusted, not by imposing your commands upon your dependencies, but by inviting discussion and threshing out the wheat of the truth. I believe, my Lord, that these principles may be usefully acted upon, and that they are the only principles upon which you can act with regard to your Indian Empire. I feel, my Lord, that it is a good augury for these principles being carried out that you have this evening not forgotten what a large share of the universality of England belongs to India, and I trust that this Society will never forget to include India among its objects. (Hear, hear.) It is true, my Lord, that with regard to the Colonies

you have furnished the whole material of which those Colonies are composed, or, at any rate, the greater portion of it; but we must not forget that in India you furnish the cement which binds together all those components parts to which Sir Stafford Northcote has made allusion, and that if that cement did not exist, there could be no peace, there could be no prosperity, and there could be no civilisation for India. I trust, my Lord, that England will long continue to bear in mind those great principles on which the Colonies have been founded, in administering the Indian Empire. I will not further detain you, but will return you the hearty thanks, which I feel assured will be participated in by all classes in India, when they know that you have borne them in mind on this occasion upon which you are inaugurating this Society, which I trust will have a very important influence on the future interests both of India and of the Colonies.

Mr. Arthur Kinnaird.—My Lord, it has fallen to my lot to replace one who would have given the toast which I am about to propose with far greater ability than I can, from his long connection with the Colony, and who is more entitled than myself to propose the toast which has been allotted to me—I mean Viscount Monck, whose absence I regret. I was called upon to visit the Canadian Colony in an official capacity, and I look upon it as one of the happiest days of my life when I set foot in that new Dominion of Canada. I will only say, that from the time when I set foot in that Colony, till the day when I left it, nothing was more refreshing or more gratifying to an Englishman than to see the cordial and hearty welcome from every corner of that Dominion, which hailed every man who came from the Mother-country. I am sorry that my excellent friend the American Minister has left us, because I was going to apologise to him for giving this toast; but, in fact, no man in this room has a greater admiration for the United States or for the ‘Stars and Stripes’ than I have. I rejoice that my excellent friend gave expression in his own words, with so much goodwill, to what is the feeling of that country. The Minister for the Colonies has made two very remarkable revelations to us. I congratulate my honourable friend near me, who has to return thanks for this toast, that Canada is going to spread its arms. We shall have one stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and I think that we shall see the day when British Columbia will be included, and our whole China trade will come in that legitimate course, and not by California.

Gentlemen, with respect to the restoration of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, I am glad that as Viscount Monck has failed to be present on this occasion, it has fallen to my lot to propose this toast on his behalf, he being the first to receive that Order. I beg you to drink the toast of ‘The New Dominion and the Colonies in the West.’

The toast was drunk amidst cheers.

The Hon. W. Macdougall.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen,

I feel unable to express to you the gratification which this meeting has afforded to me as a colonist and as a native of Canada. I think that I see, and that you will see, in this gathering, and in the speeches which have been delivered to-night, great encouragement from those who are around this board. I think that I can see an evidence of the cessation of that feeling of dissatisfaction which was beginning to show itself in some of our Colonies—a feeling which I am sorry to say is of the worst consequences to this country, and which for the last three or four years I have discovered to exist to some extent here also—namely, that the connection between the Mother-country and some of the Colonies, at all events, is one which is not of very great value to this country, whatever it may be to them.

My Lord, a few years ago, the leading public men of all political shades in Canada made up their minds, that if they wished to have the benefit of the Constitutional Government which they derived from this country, and wished to participate in the Government of the country, it was necessary to re-construct that Government. They laid their heads together. Some of them gave up those special projects which political parties sometimes entertain, and they endeavoured to form a union of all the American Colonies as a portion of this Empire. They found on coming to this country, for the purpose of getting an Imperial Act to give them a re-constitution of new Government, that both political parties strongly sympathised in that Act, and the result has been that it has been passed. And, my Lord, I am happy to state that that Constitution has proved a perfect success. Dissatisfaction, of course, prevailed in some quarters. It is difficult to prevent it in a country like ours, where every man reads a newspaper, and almost every man thinks that he can write one; but almost every one has accepted the new Constitution with great satisfaction. It has worked successfully; the Local Governments organised under it have passed a great many Bills, and up to the present time we have been sustained by a very handsome majority. My Lord, there is a circumstance which has attracted some notice in this country. One of the Provinces has made some little objection; but I am happy to announce, that the leading man in that movement has become a Member of the Government, and I have no doubt will work equally zealously to carry out the new system of government.

My Lord, I feel that after the various suggestions which have been made with regard to brevity, and the lateness of the hour, my task is nearly finished; but Lord Granville's remarks with regard to a very important question, and Sir Stafford Northcote's remarks, will go out to the public. That great territory of British America, which hitherto has been under the control of a commercial company, is about to be transferred to the New Dominion, and upon that, British Columbia will reasonably ask to be annexed. Already Newfoundland has passed resolutions by its Legislature, and by other means, I believe, unani-

mously asking to be admitted to the Confederacy, so that in a short time we shall have one united Central Power over the whole of British North America; and I would ask you, Gentlemen, to cast your eye over the map of British North America, and you will see that this new Government constitutes one half of the North American continent.

With reference to the terms which my Lord Granville has proposed, I shall not discuss them here; but I am afraid that he will have some difficulty in defending them in another place. I must say that in the whole of this difficult and important negotiation, we have experienced every disposition on the part of the Imperial Government to listen to our arguments, although it has not always been convinced by them. And at last a proposition is made which I think is not quite fair to the taxpayers, or the subjects of this country, some of whom I hope will shortly go to that country, where thousands upon thousands of acres are waiting to be cultivated by the poor of England. I think that the terms which have been proposed are unfair to the people of Canada, but yet they are not such as to prevent the union of this new country with ours, and they are not so onerous that they cannot be carried out. I shall be satisfied, as having had some share in this negotiation, if the result in a very short time shall be to create in British North America a great power enjoying free institutions as its crowning influence. I shall rejoice if that experiment shall prove a success, and if we, running a race alongside our neighbours, willing to live in peace and good feeling with them, and borrowing everything from them which previous experience has proved to be beneficial, shall enjoy at the same time all those great principles of government, and all those grand ideas which we have derived from you, and shall work out in the New World the principles of the British system of government.

I shall only say that the other Colonies of the West are included in this toast. I, of course, as may be readily supposed, have a very slight knowledge of those Colonies. It was my good fortune two or three years ago to endeavour to establish a better system of trade between North America and our West India Colonies, and the conclusion which I came to was that in those Colonies you have an active, enterprising body of all classes. We found that the universal feeling was in favour of connection with this country, and their desire to perpetuate that connection was as strong as it was in our minds; and the institutions which they enjoyed under the protection of the Mother-country were those which they wished to enjoy so long as they could. (Hear, hear.)

My Lord, we return to you, and to those gentlemen who have been active in the formation of this Society, our sincere thanks for the inauguration of an Institution such as this is likely to be. On all questions of knowledge we have found great difficulty in obtaining information. There is no common centre—no place where you can find maps and information, and can consult with reference to matters

of colonial interest; and I trust that when this Society has established itself, and given itself a local habitation, people will be able in this country to obtain the means of information. (Cheers.)

Chairman.—My Lords and Gentlemen, before the next toast is given, I have to make an announcement to you in two words. I would preface it, if you would allow me, by saying, 'Happy is the nation which has no history.' It is curious how, if a hare is started everyone runs after it, and on this occasion I almost regret to say that the conversation has mainly turned upon the subject of our North American Colonies. Now, Gentlemen, I am quite conscious that more than half of those who sit at our table to-day belong to the Colonies which we have designated as the Colonies in the East—I mean Australia, New Zealand, and the Colonies in that direction. The noble Duke who returned thanks for the House of Lords to-night reminds me that he is a New Zealander. He is owner of property in New Zealand, and he, I believe, has held it for many years with great advantage to himself, as well as with great advantage to the country. I admit that at the present moment negotiations are in progress with respect to Canada, and no negotiations are in progress with respect to the Australian Colonies. It is for that reason that the Canadian Colonies have been mentioned with a prominence to-night which has somewhat excluded our Australian Colonies. The toast which I am now about to call upon my noble friend Lord Alfred Churchill to propose, was to have been proposed by the late Secretary for the Colonies, his Grace the Duke of Buckingham. I had a telegram from him, stating that his Grace was prevented by circumstances over which he had no control from attending the dinner to-day. I regret it extremely, because, from the very beginning of our Society—when it was first thought of—the Duke of Buckingham was one of our most strenuous supporters. He was the first person to whom we applied for assistance—he was the first who recommended the Society to the various Colonies, and he watched over us with the most fostering care; and I could have wished that the toast of the Australian Colonies should have come with the ability and authority which he would have carried with it, and that he should have been present to propose it. I therefore wish to announce that it is only the circumstance of the Assize Judges visiting the part of the world in which his Grace is now detained, that prevents him from being here to-day. But I am quite sure that in calling upon my noble friend Lord Alfred Churchill to propose this toast, I place it in the hands of one who can do it justice, and who will discharge the trust committed to him with that kindness and affability and eloquence for which he is so distinguished.

Lord Alfred Churchill.—My Lord Bury, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have been called upon very unexpectedly, and at a very short notice, to propose one of the most important toasts of this evening. I thank

your Lordship for having mentioned the cause which has occasioned the absence of the Duke of Buckingham, because it only bears out what I say, namely, that I was totally unprepared to propose this toast. We have heard, from the right hon. gentleman the Prime Minister, the evil consequences which resulted from the Colonial Policy which existed in former years, and how it was supposed that the interest of the Mother-country could only be maintained in the Colonies by what was called the 'English party'; but not only has this English party subsided, but the Colonies themselves have started into life, with a vigour unprecedented in the history of the globe. We have now in the Australian dependencies seven Colonies, six of these enjoying separate and distinct Legislative Parliaments. They are engaged with questions deeply affecting the interests of the Colonies, and which we in this country may do well to consider with regard to future legislative action. I trust that we are shortly about to carry out one system in this country which has received its initiation in that country, namely, that affecting the purity of elections. Another question which we may do well to consider, is one affecting the more easy transfer of land. This system has been introduced into nearly the whole of the Colonies, and with great success. The introducer of that question is now in the House of Commons, and no doubt it will be brought before the Imperial Parliament for discussion. There are also other questions which these Parliaments are discussing among themselves, and if they succeed there, they will also be discussed in this country, with respect to the Legislature of the country. Gentlemen, these are questions of very great importance. There are also other questions, such as Emigration. We are weighted down here by pauperism, which cramps our energies in every direction. It appears to me to be a most important duty of this Society to discuss these questions, and then we can discuss with the greatest advantage how we can promote emigration from this country to those Colonies. Gentlemen, I heartily and sincerely congratulate the noble Lord for the energy which he has displayed in promoting this Society. It is one which for many years (and I am certain that every colonist in this room will bear me out) there has been a very great desire to possess. We are now inaugurating this Society under the most favourable auspices, and I trust that it may last up to a time when its influence shall be felt throughout the whole country. With these few observations I beg to propose the toast of 'Australia and the Colonies in the East,' and with that toast I will connect the name of Sir Charles Nicholson.

The toast was enthusiastically drunk.

Sir Charles Nicholson.—My Lords and Gentlemen, at this late hour of the evening, when I see so many of our friends anxious to depart, and when I fear that your attention must have been wearied by the number of speeches to which you have already listened, I feel that it

will be impossible for me to trespass at any length upon your time in conveying to you my thanks for the toast which you have drunk. The Australian Colonies have been placed the last in the programme of the evening. This, I believe, has been in some measure accidental, and in some measure attributable to the fact that those Colonies are the youngest of all the great group of Colonies belonging to the British Empire. But though the last brought before your notice, I am sure that it will be admitted by all British subjects that they are not the least in the estimation of the British public. (Hear, hear.) I must state that I believe that one important object will be achieved by the inauguration of this Society. There is on the part of all colonists, both in the Colonies and when they arrive in England, a feeling of disappointment and jealousy at the indifference and ignorance which prevail on the part of English people generally with regard to those Colonies. Those who have lived in the Colonies and have witnessed their growth, and have contributed in any way towards that growth, feel a natural pride at the result of their labour, and they are disappointed when they find that the great facts which they have contributed to create, are unknown in a large measure at home. They come home to England, and find the very existence of those countries, where they have so long dwelt, almost ignored. They find the Press and the public attention occupied with the miserable diplomacy of fifth-rate States and paltry affairs in England, whilst those great Dependencies with which they have been connected are utterly lost sight of, or are only alluded to in the most casual way; therefore I rejoice that a Society has been instituted by which that state of things will to some extent be remedied—because I think that this Society will form a sort of common arena—and I say that it is very desirable that we should have a common ground upon which we can meet and sympathise with each other. But it is also a very important object, and one which I think is likely to be achieved, that in its gatherings we can evoke the sentiments and the sympathy of those noble and distinguished gentlemen who have honoured us with their company upon this occasion. (Hear, hear.) It is the sort of feeling which even animates the citizens of the United States of America—they are jealous of the reputation of their country. They are too prone, perhaps, to ask you to consider all that has been done, and the great results which have followed from the colonising efforts of themselves and their countrymen. I ask you to look at the vast regions which have been conquered by our peaceful efforts, and at the impetus which has been given to commerce. I say that these are feelings which press upon every colonist when he arrives in England, and feelings which animate him in the most distant part of the world. Happily we have no disputes between the colonists and the Parent State. We in the Australian Colonies are not obliged to pester the Minister with such questions as purchasing

the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, questions which are a perfect mystery to me; and I rejoice that such happy relations should exist as now prevail, between Her Majesty and her highest recognised officer in the Colony, through the nobleman who now fills the position of Colonial Minister. We have not the George Granville of 1767, and if any Canadian now came with a grievance to England, he would not be received as an American colonist was a hundred years ago. I quite agree with many of the remarks which fell from the last speaker. I most sincerely and earnestly deprecate those mischievous speculators who would have a severance of the Colonies from the Parent State. The noble Lord in the chair said he believed that upwards of one-half of the company present were Australians. I think that I may claim two-thirds of those present as men who have been connected with the Australian Colonies; and I call upon them, one and all, to disavow such an idea as to suppose that the colonists are desirous of severing in any way that happy and glorious connection which exists. (Hear, hear.) And I rejoice to find, from the announcement of the noble Lord, that it is the intention of Her Gracious Majesty to give titles of honour to distinguished colonists. I rejoice that the Order is not confined to colonists, because we colonists would not value that which was merely local and not imperial. My Lord, we do not wish to be trained to republicanism: we are subjects of Her Majesty, and wish to remain so. The conditions of society in the Colonies may be assimilated to those in England, and I think that this is one of the happy expedients by which that result may be achieved. I apologise for having trespassed so long upon you. I only regret that my clients, the Australian Colonies, should have appeared so late in the programme; and if there is any grievance upon their part, it is, I think, that they have not had an earlier place in the proceedings of this evening, and I hope that they will obtain a more prominent position upon the next occasion.

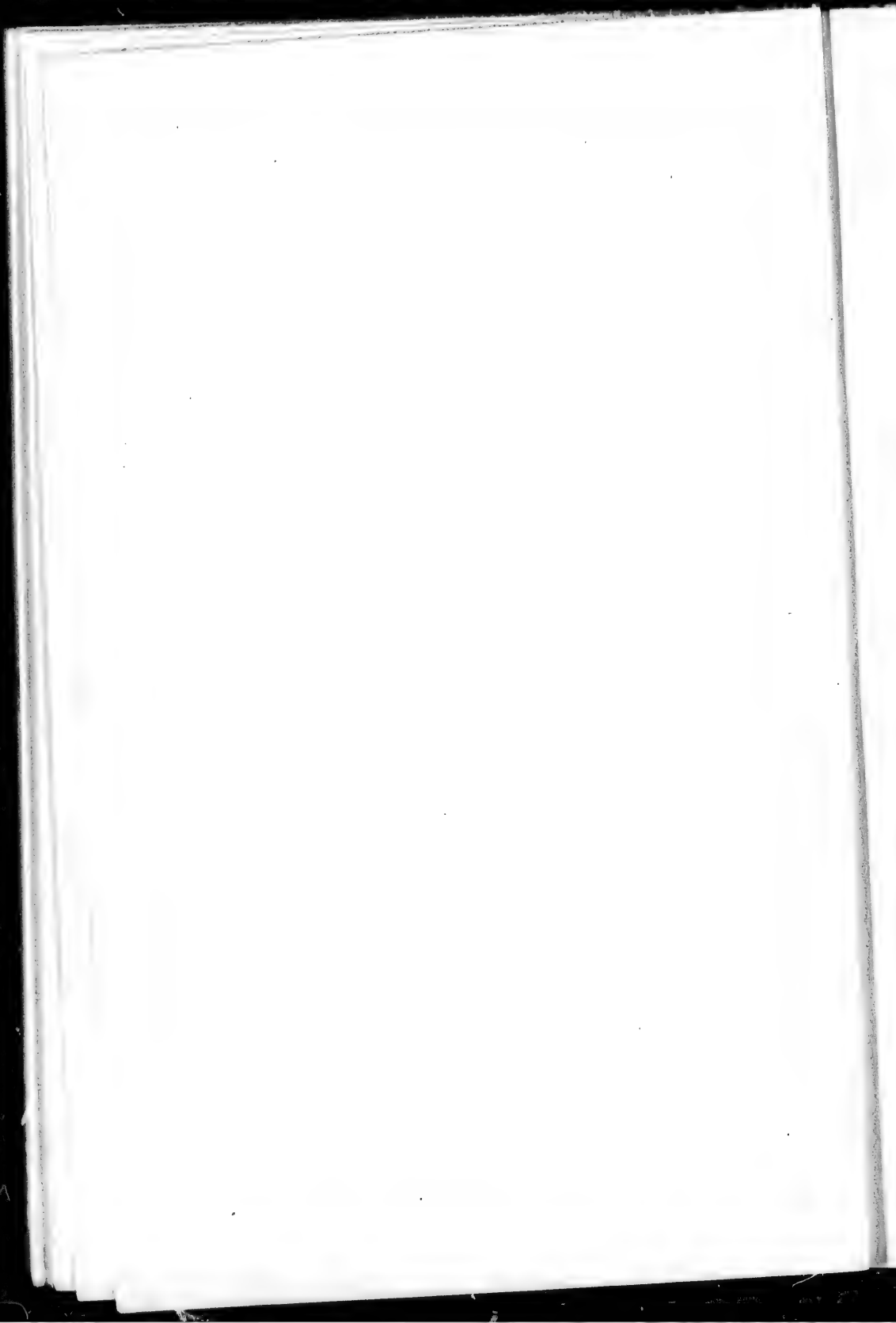
Sir Charles Clifford.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I will ask you to drink the health of our Chairman, not only for the admirable manner in which he has conducted the business of the evening, but as being one of the most energetic of those who have founded this Society, which we are now met to inaugurate—a Society which I look upon as forming an epoch in the Colonial history of England. Since the Colonies were granted that wise measure which the Parliament of England thought proper to give them—namely, that of Representative Institutions—they have little to ask from England. They are perfectly content, as far as I know, in every case to rest upon themselves. But they have heard, and we have been told to-night, that there is a feeling existing in England (and there is no doubt of it), that our Colonies are not essential to the welfare of the Mother-country. That feeling does not exist in this room. (Hear, hear.) We are quite certain that England is better

for them. They also are quite certain that they are much better as a dependency of England than they would be, however strong within themselves, as an independent nation. (Hear, hear.) The only way to keep them in that humour is that their feelings should be understood, and that their feelings should not be maligned. The way to do that is, that the British public should have some Institution in England which should be known to themselves, and also known to the Colonies, and should be a medium of communication between the two. I sincerely trust that this Society may be that mode of communication, and may be that Institution; and I am quite certain that to carry it to its legitimate end, we could not have a more admirable President than our Chairman. I propose the health of Lord Bury, and may he long be the President of the Colonial Society!

The toast was drunk with acclamation.

Chairman.—Gentlemen, I shall return thanks to you in one word for the honour which has been conferred upon me. In drinking my health as the President of this Society, honour has been done to the Society. For that I thank you. With regard to the personal honour conferred upon myself, I feel that it is to those around me who formed the Society, and who have nursed it from its earliest youth (it being still in early youth), that thanks are due for the formation of this Society, which I trust will have a great and a brilliant future. I think that we could not have held our Inaugural Meeting under happier auspices. We have been addressed by the Cabinet Ministers who have come from the Colonies, and we have been addressed by the Prime Minister of this country, who has declared with unparalleled eloquence the light in which he regards the Colonial part of the dominions of our Queen. We have also been addressed by Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for our Colonies; and I am sure that the terms in which he has spoken of the view in which he evidently regards the trust which has been conveyed to him by the Queen, must convince the colonists, if they needed to be convinced, that in the whole of that Empire upon which, quoting Daniel Webster, 'the sun never sets,' there is but one wish—namely, that universal brotherhood should unite us all together, and that that tie should be strengthened day by day. Gentlemen, I thank you very much.

This terminated the proceedings of the evening, which had been throughout sustained with the warmest enthusiasm and the liveliest expressions of hope for the future prosperity and success of 'The Colonial Society.'



THE INAUGURAL MEETING
OF
THE COLONIAL SOCIETY

WAS HELD IN THE THEATRE OF THE
INSTITUTION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS, 25 GREAT GEORGE STREET, WESTMINSTER,
ON MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 15, 1869.

PRESENT :—The Marquis of Normanby, the Earl of Albemarle, Earl Mulgrave, the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, M.P., Colonel Loyd Lindsay, M.P., V.C., Mr. Macfie, M.P., Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., Sir J. C. Lees, Colonel Maude, R.A., C.B., V.C., Mr. Charles M'Garel, Mr. George Verdon, C.B., Mr. Edward Wilson, Mr. C. Hutton Gregory (President of the Institution of Civil Engineers), Mr. Leonard Wray, Mr. Arthur N. Birch, Mr. Henry Blaine, Mr. H. E. Montgomerie, Mr. William Walker, Mr. James A. Youl, and about 170 others.

The Right Hon. Viscount Bury, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The Secretary, Mr. A. R. Roche, read the Minutes of the General Meeting of the 16th December, 1868, which were put to the Meeting and confirmed. He afterwards read a list of names of forty-four gentlemen who had been elected Fellows of the Society since the Meeting of the 16th December.

The Chairman then delivered his Inaugural Address, as follows :—Ladies and Gentlemen, a new Society takes its place to-night among the institutions which already exist in considerable numbers in this country. Organisations somewhat similar to it in character, and holding a prominent place in the estimation of scientific and literary men, are already in full operation. It therefore seems due to the practical character which we wish to impress upon our proceedings to show clearly that the objects we have in view cannot adequately be attained by any existing organisation, and that we are not, in a spirit of idle rivalry, setting up an opposition to any which already occupy public attention. I certainly am of opinion that the great increase in the number of scientific and literary institutions which is observable at the present day is not by any means an unmixed advantage. The

cause of science would in many cases be more advanced if its votaries were more concentrated. Holding this view, I need hardly say that I should not have taken part in the formation of this Society if I had not been fully convinced that we occupy an exceptional position.

An unnecessary number of institutions, differing only slightly from each other in the objects which they profess to aim at, fritter away in the expenses of management, funds which, under a system of cordial co-operation, would be available for more extended and practical usefulness.

It seems to me, therefore, that a new Society, instituted with a definite object, and desirous of taking a creditable place in public estimation, is bound to show clearly that the functions it proposes to perform cannot equally well be discharged by others. I shall therefore most fitly thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the honour you have conferred upon me by appointing me the first President of your Society, by anticipating—and, if possible, answering—the questions which would naturally be proposed by those who contemplated joining our ranks. I therefore propose to offer some remarks which may be called, in old English phrase, the ‘Apology’ of the Society. I will, in as few words as possible, give an account of its objects, its limits, and the duties it will feel itself called on to perform.

Now I may say at the outset, that the one great object of the Society—the idea to which every other will be subordinate—is to diffuse, as much as lies in its power, accurate information upon Colonial subjects among our countrymen.

This is the more necessary at the present time, because there is among us a school of politicians whose leading idea appears to be that Colonies are an excrescence of our Empire, rather than an important element of its prosperity; an incumbrance, rather than a material element of its strength; a source of commercial and political loss, rather than of national wealth.

Now this school of politicians are respectable for their learning, their eloquence, their ability, and formidable on account of the persistent vigour of their attacks. Their doctrines attack not only the root of our Colonial System—which would of itself be serious and well worthy of attention—but the very existence of our Colonial Empire, which is of infinitely more importance. A faulty system may be reconstructed; an Empire thrown away can never be recovered.

This Society contains already among its Fellows many who are peculiarly able, by lifelong knowledge as well as by practised ability, to encounter the aggressive theories to which I have adverted. I express the feelings of the Society generally, when I say that we hope to do that duty well. I venture to add on my own behalf, modestly as becomes the President of a Society whose laurels are yet to be won, that if it does perform that duty well, it will amply justify the wisdom of those

who formed it; and that such service alone would be sufficient answer to those who ask us what good objects we propose to ourselves.

I need not point out that there is no society, no body of men in existence in England, upon whom such duties could devolve. The Colonial Office is occupied with departmental and in some cases administrative details; it is clearly no part of the duty of that office to enter into controversy on fundamental questions, such as the advisability of retaining Colonies at all. Parliament will once in a while discuss a Colonial question; but its Order Book is already overcrowded with questions of immediate concern, which must be settled out of hand, lest they impede the work of practical day-to-day legislation. Parliament clearly has no time to argue on fundamental questions, or to refute doctrines which, however insidiously they may be possessing themselves of the public mind and influencing the course of future legislation, are not yet within the matter-of-fact limits which the Legislature rarely oversteps. No existing society, it is obvious, will undertake the duty. The Geographical Society may, and indeed often will, touch upon a colonial subject incidentally; so may the Ethnological, the Statistical, the Antiquarian, and many other learned bodies. But the particular cause which I am at this moment alluding to has hitherto found no champion—no champion, I mean, in any corporate society like our own. Many a gallant knight has put lance in rest and run a tilt against the half-knowledge and perverted reasoning upon which the opponents of colonisation rely. But without undervaluing in the least the abilities and the courage which those champions have displayed, it may be confessed that they have needed the support which an organised body like our own, widely acquainted with the subject, will, I hope, henceforth be able to accord.

From what I have mentioned above, our visitors (for on such a point I need not insist to the Fellows of our Society) will perceive that while it has been nobody's business to defend, the writers who attack and would dismember our Empire have grown into a regular school of politicians—keen, ready, and able. It is not one of the least important facts that the doctrines of that school have been enunciated from a professorial chair in our oldest university—I need hardly say that I speak of Mr. Goldwin Smith. It is impossible to speak with too great admiration of the brilliant eloquence, the consummate mastery of his mother tongue, and the reasoning powers of Professor Smith. As specimens of nervous English, in my opinion, some passages of Professor Smith's writings are unsurpassed within the range of modern literature; but in proportion as he is brilliant, he is dangerous. The principal characteristic of Professor Smith's writings is the use of sarcasm, and a constant and, to superficial readers, apparently complete reduction of the principles and arguments of his opponents *ad absurdum*. No one who knows the immense effect exercised upon youthful and clever minds

by ridicule skilfully applied, can doubt that Professor Smith's influence upon his young disciples must have been immense. It is therefore somewhat startling to reflect—and it is a thought which must nerve our Society to exertion—that the intellect of the rising generation of writers, thinkers, politicians, lawyers, headworkers in all branches of science, have been attacked at the fountain-head, and, so far as the influence of at least one great master goes, turned against us. For one man, therefore, who holds doctrines favourable to the dismemberment of our Empire at the present day, we may expect to find ten at a future time; and the class of objectors we shall then have to meet will be one especially difficult to encounter. The beneficial results of a great Confederation can never fully be reduced to paper, catalogued, ticketed, for the refutation of those who contest them; and the disadvantages lie upon the surface, and lend themselves easily to the sarcastic and quasi-utilitarian style of the new school. Do we speak of the advantages of unity, the cohesive power of a common loyalty and a common nationality? What more easy than to urge that money down is more than union, that loyalty is but a name, and to demonstrate with lofty scorn that *prestige* is but a foreign name for cheating, that the boasted influence of our consolidated Empire is itself but a sham and a delusion? The existence of such a school as this would of itself be a sufficient reason for the existence of our Society. But we have many others. It will form a centre to which those who come home from the colonies will at once gravitate. The mere advantages of an address to which letters may be sent, and at which appointments can be made, is an incidental advantage which would equally be afforded by an hotel or club, if such an establishment existed. But the little 'if' in this case is fatal to the supposition. While, therefore, we cannot flatter ourselves that our position as a learned body will be improved by this feature of our Society, it is a matter of satisfaction to us that we shall, from the necessity of the case, become of importance socially to those who, for business or pleasure, leave the shores of outer Britain to find themselves in the great desert of London. Registers of the names and addresses, not only of members, but of other inhabitants of our Colonies, will be a matter, slight in appearance perhaps, but of great convenience. As an illustration of this point I may be permitted to say, that when it was first proposed last year to constitute this Society, one of the main difficulties which had to be encountered was the insuperable difficulty of discovering the abodes of those who were at that time temporarily sojourning in England. It is obvious that under such circumstances organisation for any purpose whatever was impossible. A subject which required the co-operation of all the residents in a particular Colony—and such occasions were of constant occurrence—fell always, and from the necessity of the case, into the hands of a small knot of friends who happened to be acquainted with each other's address. How many

promising negotiations may have failed from the narrowness of the basis upon which they were thus unavoidably built we shall never know. We may at least hope that no mischance will arise from such causes in future.

The Society will, I trust, permit me now for a short time to address myself more particularly to those who have honoured us with their presence here this evening as visitors, and to those outside our own circle who may perchance be reached by the printed report of our proceedings this evening. I venture to address myself to them because I cannot hope, in speaking of the nature and grandeur of our Empire as a whole, to convey any ideas which are not familiar to the minds of Fellows of our Society. But to others, whose thoughts have not been directed to the lands which lie outside English limits but beneath the British sceptre, it may be that a glance at their nature and extent may convey a new, and perhaps more definite, conception of the Empire which the disciples of dismemberment would abandon.

Every one will remember the pretty conceit of the American orator, Daniel Webster, who illustrated the extent of the military power of England by declaring that as the day broke upon each successive meridian, the morning drum-beat, following the sun in his rising, girdled the earth with an uninterrupted strain of the martial music of England. You will observe that the statement is literally true. Another great orator, Mr. Gladstone, at the Inaugural Dinner of our Society, reminded us that there was scarcely a degree of longitude or a parallel of latitude that was not represented at our Board. Scarcely has the sun passed our meridian, when it is high noon in Western Africa, where the British flag waves over the Gold Coast, St. Helena, and the Gambia River. Then follow to the west the solitary waters of the Atlantic. But the land which on the American continent lies furthest to the east is British ground. Newfoundland is the first to salute the rising sun—then Prince Edward's Island, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies. Then follow in succession the broad and fertile fields and forests of the Canadas, and the large tracts of country watered by the Saskatchewan, a stream which runs, through fifteen degrees of longitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes, and whose boundless plains will at no distant day be the granary of the world. Then follow the Rocky Mountains and British Columbia. Next in order are New Zealand, the vast continent of Australia, Ceylon, and British India, with its dependent States. From thence isolated posts, such as Aden, Malta, and Gibraltar, and the important Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope, bring us back to the point from which we started.

It has not been my duty to-night to say one word upon the history, the social character, or the political condition of these countries. I will only remark that these are the lands which it is the object of our Society to bring into closer association; that they all obey laws based

upon the same code, and framed immediately or ultimately by the same authority; that the English flag waves over every fort; that troops owing allegiance to our Queen, whether they be Imperial or Colonial, garrison every citadel; that the social conditions of English life are repeated with more or less modification in all; that the character of our race, stern, self-reliant, obedient to authority, jealous of personal honour and of personal liberty, has been indelibly stamped upon them; that, in fact, they are all offshoots from the same parent stem; that in each and all of them, though seas roll between them, and month-long journeys separate them from these shores, every English-speaking lip in every one of these places, so various, so remote, speak of our dear country as 'Home!'

Three nations—the Spaniards, the French, and the English—almost contemporaneously commenced the work of colonisation as soon as the new continent was discovered. Each of these has branded its own impress on the nations it founded. Neither Spain, France, nor England holds a foot of the territory it originally possessed. Yet, although there is in each instance a radical difference between one sign-manual and another, in each the mark is indelible. It is easy to see that the national character of the inhabitants of the American continent is owing to the character of the parent land rather than to other causes. In old nations the foundation of national character must be found in far-off causes. The geographical position, the mildness or severity of climate, the degree of fertility of the soil, the growth of manners, the development of laws, the accidents of conquest or of defeat, the occurrences of plagues or famine, physical causes repeated through centuries, have moulded history. But these causes take ages to work. In America and in Australia race is almost the only cause of the national peculiarities. The Mexican or Peruvian is emphatically Spanish; the English Canadian, the citizen of the United States, or the inhabitant of South Australia, are pure Anglo-Saxon. The French Canadian habitant is still in manner and feeling French, as his ancestor was in the days of Montcalm and De Sevi.

To understand the emigrant we must study the mother-land, watch it as it emerges from barbarism, note its conduct among the rude shocks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We must observe the growth of the haughty and intolerant spirit of Spain, the persevering independence of the fishermen and burghers of Holland, the island pride and pluck of the English, and the obstinate adherence of the French to the antiquated customs of the feudal system.

The English Colonies were in no case formed in the same way as those of Spain and France. The Spaniards founded, on the countries around the Mexican Gulf, a military colony. They rapidly spread over the mainland. One adventurer conquered Mexico, a second seized Florida, a third overran Peru. The vast territory which they possessed

was governed with a rigour which no other nation ever attempted to exercise. The Spaniards admitted no foreigner into their Colonies, on pain of death. Their commercial policy has been aptly described as a monument of systematic tyranny. The Creoles fared as badly as the native races. All, however, was in the hands of an oligarchy composed exclusively of Castilians, who wielded it with such cruelty that the whole race of American Spaniards, in a few generations, had arrived at the last stage of degeneracy. The haughty courage of their race died out. The descendants of the Conquistadores forgot the use of arms.

The French established on the St. Lawrence a State on the model of their own. Seigneurs, armed with all the authority of feudal law, levied *droits d'aubaine* and *droits de moulinage* upon the inhabitants of Canadian hamlets, with the same unsparing rigour as at home. The settler emigrated at the desire of his feudal lord; the locality of his home was determined, not by his own choice, but by the exigencies of military service. The nucleus of every village was a stockade. Every seigneurie was conceded with a view to its strategic position. The settler's minutest action was superintended by his superiors; he was drawn for military service by an unsparing conscription. His temper, gay and volatile, submitted easily to this galling yoke. The peasant was content to remain a serf; his seigneur was born a member of a governing caste into which he had no chance of admission.

The English adopted a course entirely different from this. The rulers of England saw their subjects depart for the New World without interference or guidance. Sometimes they were arbitrarily interfered with; but in the main, they received from the Government that which has been happily called the inestimable boon of its neglect.

A few poor emigrants left England for the temperate latitudes of America. They suffered much from neglect and hunger; many died; some took to piracy; but the remnant established a foothold in the wilderness. Vacancies in their ranks were filled by fugitives from religious persecution, from political persecution, from justice. Gradually they drove back the Indians; they made farms and homesteads. As their numbers increased, they convoked assemblies and made laws for their own guidance. Occasionally, some great English gentleman or court favourite would obtain from his royal master the grant of an immense district, to which he transported a few families, who became the founders of a new Colony. Anyone was thought good enough for the Plantations; when honest husbandmen were not to be had, persons of loose life, discarded serving-men, and the sweepings of the hulks, were accepted. But the patentee usually got tired of his bargain, and sold his interest, or withdrew, leaving his people to grow up unassisted. The settlers sprang from a race which had struggled too fiercely for liberty at home to relax their hold of it in America; they grew more self-reliant, more independent every year. Their fierce temper

brought them often into collision with the Mother-country. When a sect was persecuted, its members took refuge in the Plantations; thus there was a constant relay of combative men fresh from successive scenes of strife. When Protestants had the ascendant, Catholics were persecuted and fled; when Catholics were in power, Protestant victims crowded to the sanctuary. As time went on, their ranks were recruited from many nations and many creeds. They absorbed Dutch, Swedes, and Germans; Roman Catholic fugitives, Puritan fugitives, Calvinist fugitives; loyal men; traitors; men flying for conscience' sake; the scum of the gaols and bagnios; men emigrating to avoid the pressure of want; men kidnapped in the streets of Bristol and Glasgow, and sold for slaves. But the two main branches of the emigrants still preserved their distinguishing characteristics. The men of Maine retained the republican temper of the Puritans, the Colonies of Virginia and Carolina preserved to the last their loyalty to the Crown. Though they by no means forgot their mutual animosity, these fierce exiles were ready, at any attempt at interference, to make common cause. They became the freest people on earth; they were brave, self-reliant, turbulent, impatient of authority.

The policy of England towards them was to let their internal affairs alone, and to make as much money as possible out of their trade. They were absolutely unused to control; trifles at which the French or Spanish emigrant would have smiled, grievances which would have seemed to the colonists of another nation no grievances at all, roused the Anglo-Saxon to madness, and were eagerly seized on as a pretext for revolt.

While the American Colonies were growing up into importance under the sway of various European Powers, the Australian continent, though it had been discovered by a French commander in the sixteenth century, still showed no signs of life. It was first colonised in 1788, in consequence of the report of Captain Cook.

I call upon our Australian friends to remember that this year we celebrate their great centenary. It was in 1769 that Captain Cook, having sailed to the Antipodes for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, sailed round New Zealand, made the coast of New South Wales, and explored the coast about Port Jackson. A few years more, and the loss of the thirteen North American Provinces made it necessary to seek a new field for our surplus population. Considerations of humanity, arising out of the well-known cannibal proclivities of the Maoris, forbade at that time the settlement of New Zealand.

In 1821 free emigration commenced, and the Australian settlements quickened into new life. One by one institutions which we recognise as the foundations of our own national stability, took vigorous root at the Antipodes. Trial by jury, a Legislative Council, embodying some of the elements of the elective principle, were followed, a few years

later, by a more distinctly elective Legislative Assembly. In 1855, the year of constitutions, New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, entered upon their career of self-taxation and self-government.

But the great year of Australia—the year in which its latent powers burst forth in full energy—was 1851. That was the year of the gold discovery. The one thing needed to develop the resources of the vast untrodden field of enterprise, to draw population to its shores, to provide at once the stimulus and the material for any degree of progress, was found where it was needed. From thenceforth the growth and the advancement of the Australian Colonies have been the marvel of our times. The solitudes of half-a-century—of a quarter of a century ago—now throb with the busy life of crowded cities; the lately silent waters are ploughed by steamers; the wilderness is traversed by railroads.

A still later growth is the settlement of New Zealand. It was first settled by the Church Missionary Society, who established a post in the Bay of Islands in 1814. The New Zealand Company, in 1837, carried on the work of colonisation, and in 1852 representative government—consisting of a Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives—was finally established.

It is not my duty to-night to describe those great and varied possessions of our race. It will be enough if I mention the great extent of territory which will be open to the operations of our Society. The glance which I have cast at them as we made our circle of the globe, will have recalled to the minds of those present their great extent, their power, their social as well as political importance. You will not think me unduly pertinacious if I again and again recur to the main object of this address—the importance of our Society. Each of the dependencies I have noted is more or less isolated. They have no common centre, no point of social reunion in this country—no mart, if I may use the expression, to which their members can bring the treasures of their information—no body of associates to whom they can turn for the advantages of counsel or discussion—no Forum to whose consideration a suggestion could be submitted or a crotchet ventilated with the certainty of an appreciative audience; no place in which a colonial hobby may be made to exhibit his graceful paces with the certainty of ready and at the same time discriminating spectators.

Our Society proposes to offer such a centre. The cordial response with which its proposals have been met, sufficiently prove the value, I had almost said the grandeur, of the idea. Already, almost before our Society is duly constituted, we number upwards of two hundred Fellows. We have in our Treasurer's hands a sum of 700*l*. We have a Council, and a body of Vice Presidents, of whom it does not become me to speak in terms of fitting eulogy, but of whom I may ven-

ture at least to say this much—that the social and acquired position of that body, some of them famous in politics, some in arts, and some in arms, affords at least a guarantee that the great aims with which the Society starts upon its career, will not be lost sight of, nor will the machinery of the Society be permitted in their hands to subserve merely trifling or insignificant uses.

One of the objects which the Society proposes to itself, is to afford an opportunity of reading and discussing at our periodical meetings papers by its Fellows on subjects of interest connected with the Colonies. It is probable, if I may judge from the nature and variety of the subjects which are already selected as topics by some of our members, that these papers will embrace subjects the most diverse, and perhaps at first sight the most disconnected. Many of our Colonies are separated from each other by the semi-circumference of the globe, and that man from each of the places so widely separated, will discourse of what he knows best, and of circumstances which surround him at home. It will be well, therefore, to keep steadily in view on one hand the connecting links which couple together our scattered Colonies, and on the other the kind and extent of their divergence. The link will, I think, speaking generally, be found in the unity of race, the cause of divergence in the difference of fortune and position which that race has experienced. It will be difficult, nay impossible, to maintain any degree of unity in our proceedings, unless we keep steadily in view the fact that there is a bond which unites the members of our scattered family, and makes that which is interesting and useful to one part in some degree interesting to all.

One principal point which distinguishes our Society from others, is that its functions may be said to commence where those of Societies already in operation end. For instance, a geographical discovery is interesting to the Society which is especially devoted to the study of that science. An account of the discovery is read at a meeting of the Society, and the subject is dismissed. Now the interest of this Society in such a discovery, supposing it to be made in one of our dependencies, is of a more abiding character. Let us suppose that some explorer discovers a new and practicable pass from the district of the Saskatchewan over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. A description of the geographical particulars thus made known, would produce an interesting and animated discussion at the Geographical Society. But as soon as the new stone had been added to the cairn of geographical science, immediate interest in the matter would cease. Not so with us. A new highway for trade would have been discovered, which would materially affect the advancement and prosperity of two of our Colonies. We should watch with interest its gradual development. The increase of traffic, the new facilities offered to emigration, the engineering difficulties offered by the road itself, would be to our Society a con-

tinual source of interest. We should welcome, if not for reading at our meetings, at any rate to be filed and preserved for future information, short notices on all these points from Fellows of our Society residing on the spot.

In like manner matters touching upon the history or antiquities of our Colonies—their trade, their mines, their finance, the progress towards civilisation or decay of their aboriginal tribes—all will be to us a source of interest. We shall store up information against the day of need upon the progress made among our scattered peoples in the arts and sciences. We shall chronicle discoveries of new material adapted for the purposes of manufacture, or the application of those already in existence to new purposes. We shall watch with interest the experiments now making in pisciculture and in acclimatisation, and we shall keep a special pigeon-hole for the descriptions of those ingenious inventions which, owing to the stimulus of the stern mother of invention, are so characteristic of young nations and of pioneer settlers in the wilderness. In ship-building, bridge-making, road-building—a thousand matters which are now consigned to the tomb in the form of paragraphs in back numbers of newspapers—will, we hope, be kept like good weapons, bright and fit for service, instead of being, like old and rusty armour, cast aside as useless.

We shall not reject an occasional paper on archæology; and notices of the fauna and flora of our Colonies will find a ready welcome. Discoveries and additions to the knowledge already acquired of zoology and botany are daily being made in the ever-virgin fields of Australia and New Zealand. In short, no subject, if it only serves to render more complete our knowledge of the history and development of our Colonies, will be unwelcome.

If the idea of the original founders of this Society be adequately carried out, the historian, the politician, the antiquary, the writer or speaker on Colonial subjects, will find ready to his hand and in good order the special information he requires. I need hardly remind the Fellows of the Society that an organisation so complete will demand time to accomplish, cordial and zealous co-operation among all the members of the Society, and lastly, patience, and a moderate supply of the sinews of war.

I remember that Turner, the great painter, once said that one of the great secrets of success was to be patient of incompleteness. He illustrated his remark by his own art, observing that the man of genius who already saw in his mind's eye the completed picture, even when the first tints were hardly dry upon his canvas, was apt, by impatience at the want of harmony observable during its progress, and by undue haste to realise his ideal, to delay, and even altogether to prevent, its ultimate realisation. I venture to apply the aphorism to our own case. Let no Fellows of our Society expect too much. The realisation of a

great scheme must be slow. Let none abandon us because we have not come up to his ideal, unless he has first satisfied himself that the incompleteness to which he objects is not removable by time and labour; and let us remember that if the man of genius seems to command success, it is in nine cases out of ten because by patience and labour he deserves it. (Great cheering.)

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.—Ladies and Gentlemen, in performing in a very few words a most pleasing task, that of moving a vote of thanks to our distinguished President for his Inaugural Address to-night, you will allow me first of all to congratulate the Colonial Society on the very important event in its history which has taken place this evening. It so happened that, upon the invitation and suggestion of my noble friend near me (Lord Bury), I saw something of the very earliest days—I may say hours—of the Colonial Society. During the enforced absence of my noble friend, it was my fortune and pleasure to give a few rocks as it were to the cradle of this Society, which has to-night arrived, we may safely say, at man's estate, because to-night this Society, having been making its way for months past by the assiduous labours of many—some of whom are here, and some are not here—in comparative privacy and obscurity, has at last, I am happy to see, in this spacious hall, under promising and dignified circumstances, emerged, I was going to say into the sunlight, but I ought to say into the full gaslight of other learned Societies; because we all know that this is the time of the twenty-four hours, and this is the light under which all learned Societies conduct their proceedings. Well, Gentlemen, all the circumstances are propitious. We meet, as we have been told by our President, under the favour and hospitality of one of the most distinguished Societies in this country, which certainly would not have extended its hospitality to us if it had not considered us worthy of that kindness even in the earliest days of our existence. We have had the advantage of an Inaugural Address which, I venture to say, has sketched with a rapid and comprehensive hand the whole field of our Colonial Empire, and of the duties of a Society like the present. You will agree with me, I think, that this sketch which we have had from my noble friend, is a sufficient proof in itself of the ample work which this Society will have to do, and the large and interesting field over which it will have to travel. My noble friend said a good deal very eloquently and very truly of that school of thinkers and writers in this country who are in the habit of attacking the very foundation of the Colonial System. For myself I shall venture to assume that our Colonial Empire will continue to exist. (Cheers.) It is certainly not the business of the Colonial Department of the Government, and I doubt whether it is the business of this Society, to question those fundamental actions which lie at the very root of our Colonial Empire. It is the business of a Society like this, as it is of the Colonial Office, to retain

the Colonies, and believing as I do that our Colonial Empire will live, and that this Society will live, I am firmly convinced that this Society will make good use of its existence, and have an ample field for all its benefits. Gentlemen, it will require but few words of mine to induce you to give your hearty thanks to my noble friend near me, not only for his Address to-night—which is the least part, however eloquent it may be—of what he has done for us. This Society is indebted to him for his energy, and the interest he has taken in it from first to last. It seems to me that my noble friend, among the public men of this country, is of all others I could mention marked out for an enterprise like the present. (Cheers.) For many reasons, public and private, which I need not enlarge upon here, my noble friend has taken a deep interest in the Colonies, and has long formed in the ranks of English politics and English society a link between the Mother-country and a very important Colony. It is under those circumstances his natural influence, his abilities, and his remarkable energy, have marked him out as exactly the man best fitted to start a Society like the present; and I venture to say he has done what we have not always been in the habit of doing, made the best possible use of those opportunities he has had, in the cause of the Colonial Society. I ask you, therefore, with the greatest confidence, auguring as I do a happy and useful future for this Society, to return your hearty thanks, not only for to-night's proceedings, but for the origination and conduct of this Society to this moment, to my noble friend, Lord Bury. (Cheers.)

The Marquis of Normanby.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I can assure you that upon entering this room this evening I had not the slightest idea that I should be called upon to address you. At the same time a vote of thanks having been moved to our noble President, and seeing no one else ready to rise and second that motion, I felt bound to take that duty upon myself. I think we must all congratulate ourselves most sincerely upon the promising prospects of this Society. I for one entertain a very high opinion of the duties which will attach to the Society, and of the advantages which are to be derived from its institution. There is nothing more difficult in this country than to form a proper estimate of the Colonies. I myself have had some experience of Colonial life, and I know that among Colonists astonishment is often expressed at the little interest which is manifested and the little knowledge obtainable in England as regards the Colonies. But at the same time, if you consider the question candidly, this want of knowledge is not to be wondered at. In young societies people are not much given to writing histories; and we also find, on reading accounts of Colonies of which we have any local knowledge, that those histories are frequently written to carry out the particular views and opinions of the writers—(hear, hear); and that, to a great extent, will account for

the ignorance about the Colonies. The want of interest in them which is supposed to exist, is, I am sure, more apparent than real. The Colonies are all distant from England. We are all occupied by things which more immediately come under our notice; and though colonists naturally look on this country, as I know they do, as home, and turn their attention with great interest to the things which take place here from day to day, still they can hardly be surprised that, with the variety of Colonies possessed by this country, they are not so particularly individualised by those living in England. I may also be allowed, I think, to say, that the organs which convey by each mail the intelligence of this country to the Colonies, express and give their information in a manner more attractive than is very often found in some of the Colonial journals. At the same time I am sure that there is a deep interest felt in England as regards the Colonies, and I am sure there ought to be. There is nothing more important to this country than to find a new field for our surplus population as it largely increases, and who, whilst languishing here for want of employment, would be received with open arms by, and confer an inestimable benefit upon, those Colonies to which they might go. Now for emigrants there is nothing so important as that they should be able to obtain accurate information regarding the Colonies to which they are about to proceed. The Colony which may suit one class of emigrant may be totally unfit for another, and a man who would do well in Australia might find himself at a loss in Canada. There is no description of skilled artisan, of labourer, of capitalist, who cannot find employment for his skill, his labour, or his capital, in one or other of our Colonies, and that is the very thing which is required to complete the prosperity and the importance of those Colonies. I think, therefore, that one of the great objects to which this Society ought to turn its attention, is by every means in its power to obtain and to classify, in some simple form, this most desirable information. (Hear, hear.) As my noble friend by me has stated, all this will take time and the sinews of war; but having begun thus successfully, I hope that the members of the Society will proceed energetically, and at the same time give their aid liberally, to the successful carrying out of the objects of this institution. I have much pleasure, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding the vote of thanks to our President. (Cheers.)

Sir Charles Nicholson.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I have listened with much pleasure to the able and eloquent Address of our noble President, and I should have been much gratified to avail myself of the opportunity of seconding the vote of thanks, had I not been desirous that that task should be entrusted to more able hands than mine. I find that I was not wrong, because it has been so exceedingly well performed by the noble Marquis. You have heard, in the Address of our noble President, ably and clearly defined, the reasons justifying the formation

of this Society; it would be quite superfluous for me to attempt to recapitulate them, or to endeavour to add to them by way of stating further grounds upon which our union is formed. I certainly do feel, when I look back, some degree of surprise that it has never occurred—or if it has occurred, at all events, that the idea has never been acted upon—to form an association of this kind. We see people aggregated together—people with kindred sympathies and kindred interests—for every possible object. They form combinations, unions, and societies for carrying out their designs. We have antiquarian societies, we have musical unions, we have political societies and scientific combinations of every kind; and yet a class of men, who ought to be united by the strongest sympathies and the strongest possible interest, have never yet found any common bond of union such as that formed by this Society; and it is, therefore, a matter of surprise that some such organisation as this has not been hitherto provided. You have already, my Lord, expressed in your Address the many advantages which an institution of this kind holds out in various ways to the colonist arriving in England for the first time, as well as to the emigrant proceeding to the Colonies, and desiring information with regard to the country to which he is going. You have already told us of the necessity of an institution which will supply the means of disabusing the minds of the people of errors which many persons are insidiously trying to instil into them. And I think we may regard ourselves in some cases, without assuming a political character, as in all probability likely to become a link between the Colonies and the Imperial Government. (Hear, hear.) I say this without inferring that we are to assume any distinct political character. I was very glad to find that our noble Chairman, who has just favoured us with such an eloquent Address, combated those mischievous and dangerous doctrines which have been put forth by able and clever, and I am afraid somewhat unscrupulous and, notwithstanding all the talent they possess, unthinking writers. I, in common with other colonists here present, repudiate and reject with indignation the doctrine and the influences of which that school of writers and thinkers are the chief exponents. I believe that, happily, they do not meet with much sympathy on the part of the public at large. There are, however, men occupying high political positions who seem carried away by the arguments of Mr. Goldwin Smith and others of his way of thinking. Their arguments appear to me so emphatically mischievous, so destitute of all political sound reason, that I can hardly conceive how any sane person can put them forth, or how any one can listen to and accept them. If the colonists were factious and discontented, if they sought separation from the Mother-country, and that in order to maintain them in their allegiance the Parent State were subjected to positive loss, that might be a reason why she should endeavour to disburden herself of them. Is this the fact? Why, I venture to say that there is more loyalty in the Colonies than in the Parent State.

I have lived for a quarter of a century in one of the most flourishing and not the least important of the British Colonies, and I venture to say that there is less disloyalty towards the Parent State there than is to be found in England or any part of the United Kingdom. I can affirm, after many years' experience of the habits and conduct of the colonists, that a feeling of loyal enthusiasm has been developed amongst them in every instance where there has been any occasion to call for its exercise. I may appeal for evidence of this to several old friends and colonists. At the conclusion of the Russian war, when the Patriotic Fund was started, when subscriptions to a large amount were being collected everywhere, there was no part of the United Kingdom where the call was responded to so liberally as it was in Australia. I myself know that in the first instance, in Sydney, they collected as much as 60,000*l.* for that fund—a larger sum than was received in all Ireland. In Tasmania the average collected was 1*l.* a-head for every individual in the island. See what that would have amounted to had the same been done in England. You would then have had some 20,000,000*l.* I can speak, I think, practically as to the generosity and loyalty of every section of the community. I was associated with one of the Judges in making the collection, and in one of those divisions which was canvassed by myself and Mr. Justice Therry, we got 4,000*l.* in three days, going from house to house. I do not boast of this. I mention it to show the unshaken loyalty and devotion of these distant Colonies, and the pride they have in the British name, and in the possession of a common British citizenship. It seems to me, in point of fact, that it is but the mere shadow of an argument that is adduced by the writers who advocate the casting-off of the Colonies, when they say that the expense which they entail upon the Mother-country in maintaining troops and fleets is thrown away, as it does nothing but keep up an unprofitable *prestige* of a great Empire. Well now, with regard to that, I think it is right we should understand that there is a palpable error on that subject. With regard to the military forces which are maintained by England in the Australian Colonies, the Imperial Government has only to say—(there are merely some three or four companies of soldiers in Sydney who receive Imperial pay)—it could no longer pay for them, but the Colony must bear the expense itself. It has only to be proposed, and it would be done. The whole of these Colonies have a large Volunteer Force as a means of self-protection, and in the event of England being involved in any war, and obliged to withdraw her troops, they could be spared. I believe in Melbourne alone we have had as many as 10,000 Volunteers in the field collected on one given occasion; and the only argument I can see in support of the view of the Colonies being a burden to the Home Government is, that she would have to protect them in the case of war, in the event of ships going from one port to another. Even

if she had no Colonies, and if a war were to break out, would she not be obliged to protect her ships on every sea? It is England that is interested in maintaining her supremacy on the sea. It is she who would benefit, rather than the Colonies, by her connection with them. However, I believe, and I rejoice to believe, that those opinions in favour of casting-off the Colonies do not receive much countenance or support either from any former Government or from the present. And this I think is clearly the view of our distinguished Vice-President, Mr. Chichester Fortescue. I believe the value of the Colonies is only just beginning to be felt. The noble Marquis spoke—I was delighted to hear it—on a question of infinitely more importance to this nation than those questions which are now occupying the time and attention of every one—the question of emigration. Emigration of the surplus population from our shores, sooner or later, must force itself on this country in a way perfectly irresistible. Looking to the enormous population of this country, seeing that it has more than doubled itself during the present century—in the year 1800 it was only eight millions, and it is now twenty millions—I would ask, if the present rate of increase goes on, what is to be done with it at the close of this century? Look at London alone; its people are increasing at the rate of 60,000 every year. What is to be done with them if they go on augmenting in numbers in the same proportion as they have hitherto? Well, I say, if that is the case, the question of emigration is a question which must force itself upon the attention of the Imperial Government. There are, especially in New South Wales and Victoria, and also here, agencies aiding and supporting emigration—agencies which, if they cannot do much in the way of pecuniary contributions, yet do their best in stimulating public attention. I am very glad to see certain establishments ready to unite—though their influence is a mere drop in the ocean—with Government in furtherance of the object. I know and feel that some great and carefully-organised means must be provided by which the surplus population of these islands—increasing some two or three hundred thousand every year in spite of all the emigration that goes on—may go to those countries where they may find happy homes, and, with their own happiness and contentment, increase the power and the real happiness and the glory of this the parent country. I feel very great pleasure in having listened to the Address of the noble Lord. The motto of the newly enlarged Order of St. Michael and St. George is '*auspiciis melioris avi*,' as affecting alike the Colonies and the Parent State; and applying such a motto to ourselves, I look forward to the inauguration of this Society as a happy omen, because I believe it to be a Society by which great and important results may be achieved.

Sir J. C. Lees.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel it my duty to express to our noble President my thanks for giving his time and abilities, not only to the preparation and reading of his Inaugural Address, but to the

formation of this Society. Some short time ago our noble Chairman asked us to trot out our colonial hobbies. Some years ago, the Colonies having been the great hobby of my life, I became convinced that I ought to go and see them for myself. At that time of day I could not help feeling struck with many very remarkable features in the Colonial Empire. One was the Colonies themselves. Nothing more remarkable, I think, than the formation of these communities can be thought of or found in history. That was one of the features that most struck me. The second was that the apparent indifference which has been alluded to, on the part of the British public towards the colonies, is an indifference which is more apparent than real; and the third is, that the school of thinkers that seem to be studying the question at all, are a number of very brilliant thinkers—for they are many and even most brilliant—whose whole exertions seem to be employed to show that we are burdened by our Colonies. Those three things struck me as so remarkable, that I felt I could not do justice without going and studying for myself. I should say that our noble Chairman need not scruple in using the word *grandeur* in connection with the objects which this Society has to carry out. Now, this is not the place, I quite agree, to go into any discussion of the question of the relative position of the Colonies and the Crown, or whether they should be kept or thrown away; but I will just say one thing, that I know nothing more remarkable than the indifference, the singular coldness, with which that speculation has been maintained. What would be the fortune of those Colonies without us, if we were, as Mr. Goldwin Smith thinks we ought to be, separated from them? It is a very important thing that we should not fall into the error of undervaluing such a step. I am glad our Chairman does not undervalue it. The argument of Mr. Goldwin Smith points to this, that we have cut away every vestige of political connection with the Colonies, and therefore we had better get rid of all that is left of the connection. A more extraordinary political fallacy was never put forward. What have we done with the Colonies, and what shall we do as long as they are united to us? In every Colony which has separated itself from us there has always been the difficulty connected with the election of the Executive. Of that difficulty it deserves to be pointed out at the outset, that no Colony that has cut itself adrift from the parent stock has ever yet been able to solve that gigantic difficulty. Let me point out the cause of that terrible conflict which lasted so long in America. The whole question turned in reality on the point of a President's election. If there had not been that last ounce to break the camel's back, the election of President Lincoln—if that difficulty had not been pressed, many of the other difficult questions might have been solved without a civil war. And it is even so in connection with this, that I cannot help mentioning a most singular story which was told to me at the outset of that war. It is a fact that many of the most cultivated Americans, in the first anguish of that year, did recur,

with a regret that could hardly have been expected ever to have arisen in their breasts, to the old connection with the British Crown. One of these Americans, Nathaniel Hawthorne, said to a friend of mine, 'Do you think that the British Crown would have us back, if we come to them?' Of course it was said in jest, but it certainly does suggest to us, in the very strongest way, that it is highly important that we should remember that as long as the Colonies are connected with us, we should desire to do good to them, and confer on them a great boon by saving them from political confusion, which must be the case if they separate from us. I speak as one who has seen for himself, and hopes hereafter to say more about the very great work which the English race is doing all over the world,—a work which this Society may greatly aid by fostering the sentiments of love among those communities. I desire to express my personal gratitude to his Lordship for the admirable paper which he has been kind enough to read to us this evening.

Mr. Macfie, M.P.—Ladies and Gentlemen, as a Scotchman and a Lancashire man, I have to tender my hearty thanks to his Lordship for dealing so practically with the question of our Colonies. I feel there is a great deal of truth in what has been said, that the indifference which we are accused of feeling towards our Colonies is only apparent, and arises from a want of a proper understanding between us. In fact, our language wants some words to explain what is the difference between local taxation and imperial taxation. Local taxation is merely the taxation of the United Kingdom, but imperial has a far wider range. Therefore I say we want better understanding of our relationship, and that better understanding may be brought about by the influence of this Society. When that better understanding is established, I have no doubt we shall be as willing to share our fortunes as to share our burdens.

Lord Alfred Churchill.—I shall trouble you but a very short time in the remarks I have to make. As a new member, I beg to thank our President sincerely for his admirable Inaugural Address. My Lord, you have travelled with singular ability over the whole range of the Colonies belonging to this country, and, in tracing their history from the commencement to the present time, performed a most important service to both. With regard to Canada, it has occurred to me—I think it is in one of Mr. Warburton's books, where he gives the origin of the word 'Canada.' It appears that a party of Spaniards passed up the River St. Lawrence, and they said, 'Acqui nada,' which means, 'There is nothing here.' They left the country. Now, if those Spaniards could have seen the Canada of this day, and the progress it has made up to the present time, and the distinguished part it is playing in America, and its connection with the Crown in this country, they would have thought very different to what they did then. The noble Marquis also touched upon the advantages of emigration to our colonies. Now there is one important point in connection with that subject which

demands our attention, and that is that we should organise a system of emigration through the whole country. We have had many spasmodic efforts made to encourage emigration. There are certain societies which do most important services, and they are very readily performed, besides which there are the Emigration Commissioners. They regulate the fitting-out of ships intended for emigrants, and they take care they are properly organised to prevent abuse to the emigrants on their voyage. But although the Colonies have agents who induce people to pass over to them, emigration is not adopted upon a uniform system, such as could be advocated by a Society of this character. Therefore this is an essential element in this Society, and I think we ought all to feel highly indebted to you, my Lord, for having inaugurated a Society so much calculated to benefit the country.

Captain Bedford Pim, R.N.—My Lord, my object in rising is this, to request that you will vacate the chair, and allow Mr. Chichester Fortescue to take it while the vote of thanks which has been proposed and seconded is put to the meeting. You cannot, as Chairman, put it yourself. It is the custom of the Institution which meets in this hall, and to which I belong, when a vote of thanks is proposed to the Chairman, that he should vacate the chair, and another gentleman should take it. [The Chairman then left the chair, which was taken by Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Mr. Chairman, for the paper which his Lordship has read, I feel we must all be deeply thankful to him. In it he has explained to us what this Society is going to do. I believe that, if properly worked out, it will do an immense amount of good. It will direct an enormous flood of surplus population to lands where there is plenty of work and plenty of room for them. I feel most heartily that this Society can do immense good, and I am very, very delighted, that our President has thought it right to hold out the hand of fellowship to the Colonial Society. I am a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and most cordially endorse his action in this matter. Sir, I shall ask you now to put the motion to the meeting.

Mr. Thomas Briggs.—Mr. Chairman, I beg as a Lancashire man to be allowed to say a few words on the subject we have been discussing this evening. I recognise an old friend in the face of Sir Charles Nicholson. I do not think he knows me, but he once called me a stump orator—(laughter)—or said I would make a very good one in the Colonies. I wish to point out, my Lord, that there are about 5,000 emigrants who go every week from Liverpool alone. Where do they go to? They go to America. Why do they not go to our Colonies? We want them in the Colonies. I told you, Sir Charles, that if you got them there you would get labour, which is what you want. I was pooh-poohed when I pointed this out. That labour would have been so useful in Queensland that we might have had by this time two millions of bales of cotton from Queensland, which would have been tantamount to twenty millions more of money than Queensland is worth

now, even at sixpence per pound, which is one hundred per cent. less than it is selling for now in Liverpool. There were several hundreds of emigrants sent out. I sent fifty families, and I have had letters from a few of them, who speak very highly of their enterprise, and of their having realised their expectations in the way of producing cotton.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.—In my position as Chairman I beg to submit the following motion, which has been duly proposed and seconded :—‘ That the best thanks of this meeting are due to Lord Bury for the Inaugural Address which he has read to-night.’ (Cheers.)

The motion having been carried unanimously,

Lord Bury said.—I have only to thank you, which I do most sincerely, for the honour you have done me—for the kind way in which this motion has been proposed, and the manner in which you have taken it. I have been very gratified at hearing the little discussion which my paper has provoked, and I think that the more our sentiments are interchanged upon colonial subjects the more the objects of our Society will be fulfilled; and therefore the discussion which has taken place to-night is the firstfruits, I hope, of many similar discussions which will take place at our future meetings. Our next meeting will be held on April 5. Every speaker who has addressed you—my right hon. friend the noble Marquis, the hon. Member Mr. Macfie, and Sir Charles Nicholson—has given me the credit of the origination of this Society. I simply wish, if you will allow me to do so, to repudiate that. I have taken a very great interest in it, I am sure, but I am not the originator. The originator was sitting here three minutes ago. Though many have taken an active part in the formation of this Society—and it is, perhaps, invidious to single out one more than another—yet the originator, I am bound to say, of the Society is the gentleman who is now our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Roche. I have to admit that he has had the principal hand in it now; and when the Society has its ramifications in our Colonies, and perhaps, if Mr. Gregory will allow me to say so, a building, not so splendid, not so convenient a one to meet in, as this, but our own, we shall think of our friend Mr. Roche. When one takes up an idea, others work it out, and I hope we shall all respectively labour and put strength into this undertaking in a way which will prove that we must and will succeed in our object. (Cheers.)

Mr. Montgomerie.—Will you allow me one word? I think it would ill become us to separate without expressing, by a formal vote, our thanks to the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers, the President and members, for allowing us the use of this elegant and commodious hall. We are much indebted to them, and I think this Society should express its obligation by a vote of thanks, which I beg to move.

Mr. James A. Youl.—I beg to second the motion that has been proposed. I feel that we are deeply indebted to the Institution of Civil Engineers for allowing us the use of this beautiful hall.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.—It would have been very wrong if we had separated without formally putting such thanks on record. I beg, then, to put the motion.

Carried unanimously.

Mr. Gregory.—At this late hour I will not trouble you with many remarks. I am extremely gratified by the Colonial Society in so warm a manner acknowledging the use of this hall, which the Institution of Civil Engineers have been so happy to offer. More than fifty years ago, my Lord, we were a very much more humble Society than you are, and I will not tell you in how poor a place we had our first meeting. We have now struggled into a position which we are proud of, and I assure you that we feel it to be one of our first duties, when we see a Society, which promises so much usefulness, in want of assistance, to do all in our power to help it. You have seen, and have given us evidence, that we can ourselves derive much advantage by joining your ranks. Captain Pim has shown, in his cordial observations to-night, I think, a very proper appreciation of your services. The accommodation which we have given has been most willingly offered by my colleagues and myself, and we acknowledge the great courtesy with which it has been received. I wish you, on behalf of my colleagues, every prosperity, and I am sure we shall be pleased whenever you make use of this room, and we hope you will be useful to the world in general—a hope which will be largely shared in by the profession to which I have the pleasure to belong. (Cheers.)

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